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V - Semester

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**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FROM 1914 AD TILL PRESENT**

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INTRODUCTION

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The previous century has been transformational in terms of international relations. The Chinese, Russian, German, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires dissolved in the first half of the twentieth century. During the course of the World War I, Russia transformed into the communist Soviet Union. The 1930s witnessed the Great Depression, which caused massive disruption to the economy of the world. This was followed by World War II.

In the Second World War, the Allied powers, comprising mainly the Soviet Union, the US and the UK, were pitted against the Axis powers, including Germany, Japan and Italy. The War ultimately resulted in a total victory for the Allies. However, this victory cost over 60 million lives, including millions of civilians, and the total destruction of many countries. To prevent future world wars, the United Nations was constituted. However, the rivalry between the two new superpowers — the Soviet Union and the US — resulted in the Cold War, which would dominate geopolitical life for the next 45 years. Due to the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 owing to the domestic affairs, the US emerged as the sole superpower of the world.

This book, *International Relations From 1914 AD Till Present*, is divided into fourteen units that follow the self-instruction mode with each unit beginning with an Introduction to the unit, followed by an outline of the Objectives. The detailed content is then presented in a simple but structured manner interspersed with Check Your Progress Questions to test the student's understanding of the topic. A Summary along with a list of Key Words and a set of Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit for recapitulation.

BLOCK I

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND PEACE TREATIES

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UNIT 1 THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

World War I broke out in July 1914 and saw its end on November 11, 1918. Humanity had never confronted the horrors of war on such a gigantic level. Over forty countries took part in the war with 70 million soldiers in action on different fronts throughout the world.

During the war, clashes took place between the most powerful forces in the modern world with Germany, the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, (and briefly Italy) on one side, and Britain, France, Russia, and later the United States on the other.

Consequently, some 20 million people died and the world's great empires saw their downfall. Czarist Russia was replaced by the communist Soviet Union. The Austro-Hungarian Empire ceased to exist, as a number of new countries emerged in the Balkans in addition to the new Austrian Republic, which wished to unite with Germany – a move prohibited by the victorious Allied Powers. The Ottoman Empire disintegrated and in its stead the New Turkish Republic arose, in addition to a number of other new entities, including the areas of the Mandate in the Middle East. Imperial Germany lost considerable parts of its territory in the East and West. The great monarchies disappeared, and in many places significant steps were taken towards the adoption of democratic methods of governance. Let's study in detail the cause, course and the consequences of the First World War.

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1.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the cause of the First World War
- Describe the course of the war
- Explain the consequences of the war
- Discuss the treaties of the Paris Peace Conference

1.2 THE FIRST WORLD WAR: CAUSES, COURSE AND RESULTS

The First World War was fought between the world's great powers which were gathered into two opposing alliances- the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. The immediate cause of the war was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian youth named Gavrilo Princip. According to Herbert Henry Asquith, the Prime Minister of Britain at the beginning of the First World War, "We were often conscious that we are skating on the thinnest of ice and that the peace of Europe was at the mercy of a chapter unforeseen and unforeseeable accidents." That accident took place on 28 June 1914 when Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated. The assassination of the Archduke, who was the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, precipitated Austria-Hungary to declare war against Serbia. This caused the Central Powers and the Allied Powers to declare war on each other, starting the First World War.

Although the assassination of the Austrian Archduke sparked off the First World War, the actual root causes for the war are much deeper. To understand the reasons for the war, one needs to delve into the political situation in Europe at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The following is a list of the generally accepted root causes of the First World War.

Military Alliances

The league of three emperors: After the French were defeated in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 -71, the German Empire was established. The German Empire was based on a military force which grew steadily and became extremely formidable in Europe. The humiliating defeat and the loss of the province of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany created a burning feeling of revenge among the French against the Germans. The new chancellor of the German Empire,

Otto Von Bismarck, somewhat aggravated this feeling through his various policies. Bismarck undertook various foreign policy initiatives in the next twenty years aimed at making France isolated and powerless. Bismarck entered into an alliance and understanding with Austria-Hungary which was fast becoming an eastern power itself and was trying to find an outlet in the Balkan Peninsula. For

this purpose, Austria-Hungary needed German support against the Slavs races. Alongside this, Bismarck was also able to carve a better understanding with the Russian Empire. This assimilation of understanding led to an alliance between the three. In 1872, the three emperors, i.e., William I of Germany, Francis Joseph of the Austria-Hungary, and Czar Alexander II of Russia, met at Berlin and entered into a political understanding that led to the formation of the League of The Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*). These three emperors did not enter into any formal treaty, but decided upon an understanding of maintenance of the boundaries 'recently' laid down. Bismarck remarked upon the alliance 'I have thrown a bridge across Vienna without breaking down that older one to St Petersburg'. This understanding between the three collapsed in 1875 over territorial disputes in the Balkans as Austria-Hungary feared that Russian support for Serbia might ultimately ignite the Slav populations of Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, Russia likewise feared an insurrection in its empire, should a Pan-Slavism movement gain too much clout.

Austro-German dual alliance: Bismarck decided to enter into a more concrete alliance with Austria as part of a system of alliances to prevent war. This system first led to the formation of the Austro-German Dual Alliance in 1879. The terms of the alliance were as follows:

- If any of the contracting parties were attacked by Russia or by any other power supported by Russia, its ally will come to its assistance with all forces
- If either party was to attack by a power other than Russia its ally was to observe benevolent neutrality
- The treaty was to be effective for five years and renewable. Bismarck kept these terms of the treaty secret up until 1887

The Triple Alliance: Bismarck also decided to use the rivalry between Italy and France over the desirable Tunis region in northern Africa. He indirectly prompted France to seize Tunis and thus created another enemy for France. The French occupation of Tunis in 1888 alienated Italy and forced her to join the Austro-German Dual Alliance, which led to the formation of the triple alliance.

The Reinsurance Treaty and the Franco-Russian dual alliance: In order to make sure that France and Russia do not come closer to each other, Bismarck succeeded in concluding the *Reinsurance Treaty* between Germany and Russia which was to be renewed periodically. However, after Bismarck retired from the German Chancellery in 1890, the course of German foreign policy saw a dramatic change. The new German Emperor Kaiser William II refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia on the grounds that henceforth Germany would not be a party to secret agreements. The first big event after the retirement of Bismarck was the establishment of the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance. By the terms of the alliance, either country would support the other with arms if it was attacked by Germany with or without the other members of the triple Alliance. Thus, Europe came to be divided into two armed camps.

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Anglo–Japanese Alliance: The mutual rivalry against Russian schemes in the Far East brought about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. Through this alliance, Great Britain and Japan undertook to come to each other’s assistance if either was attacked by two European powers. This Anglo-Japanese alliance emboldened Japan to have a showdown with Russia resulting in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-05. In the war Russia faced a humiliating defeat. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 also gave a spurt to Asian nationalism and had long standing impact on the future political scenario of the region.

The Anglo-French Entente: In April 1904, a series of conventions were signed between France and Great Britain to settle the problems of Anglo-French colonies. As per one of these conventions, in return for French recognition of the British position in Egypt, Great Britain recognised the French position in Morocco. Similar compromises were made in other parts of the world, for example, West Africa, Siam and Newfoundland. Altogether these conventions amounted to the *entente cordiale* or a friendly understanding, and not an alliance. Neither party was placed under definite obligation to do anything particular in any future contingency. However these conventions helped to strengthen the position of France in Europe.

The Triple Entente: Since France and Russia were allies, it became an unwritten code to have an entente with Russia following the Anglo–French Entente. Thus a treaty similar to the French treaty was signed in 1907 under the guidance of Sir Edward Grey. The agreement respected the independence of Afghanistan and of Tibet and they allocated spheres of British and Russian influence in Persia.

Thus it was clear that by 1907, the great powers of Europe came to be divided into two rival armed camps; the Triple Alliance comprising of Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy and the Triple Entente comprising of Great Britain, France and Russia. The triple alliance countries came to be known as the Central Powers and the triple entente countries came to be known as the Allied Powers. As the war took place, other nations also joined these alliances.



Fig. 1.1 Map Showing the Two Military Blocs in 1914

(Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title= File:Map_Europe_alliances_1914-en.svg&page=1](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Map_Europe_alliances_1914-en.svg&page=1))

Rise of Nationalism

During the 19th century a force spread across Europe that led to the First World War. This force was Nationalism - the belief that loyalty to a nation and its political and economic goals came before any other public loyalty. This form of exaggerated patriotic fervour aggravated the tense situation in a Europe divided into armed camps. Nationalistic pride caused nations to magnify small disputes into major issues and there were several minor issues that led to war. This force of Nationalism manifested itself in different forms in different countries. In Germany it underwent a perverted metamorphosis and became aggressive and egoistic. This aggressive nationalism was reflected by the war machine built up by Bismarck during his time as Chancellor and also by Germany's attitude towards its neighbours. The French, on the other hand, nursed feelings of humiliation due to her defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. This wounded and outraged nationalism of France demanded revenge over Germany.

Along with this, there was also the submerged Nationalism in the Eastern European Empires of Austria-Hungary, Russia and Ottoman Turkey. The Balkan Peninsula in southern Europe was also known as the 'powder keg of Europe' as everyone recognised that tensions in this region could ignite a major war. Indeed, it was the rivalry for control over the Balkan region that led to the eruption of First World War. Serbia led a movement to unite the Slavs of the region with Russia, the most powerful Slavic country, supporting the Serbian venture. On the other hand, Austrian-Hungary feared Slavic nationalism as millions of its subjects were Slavs. In 1908, the Austria-Hungary Empire greatly angered Serbia by annexing the Balkan territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia wanted control of those lands as many Serbs inhabited those territories.

Militarism and the Race for Armaments

By the beginning of the 20th century, various alliances had divided Europe into two armed camps. It was believed that disputes among these two armed groups would be solved through negotiations; however, neither side made any real efforts to formulate a negotiated settlement. The general perception in Europe was that no government was in mood to renounce war as an instrument for peace. Moreover, by the beginning of the twentieth century, an arms race had started. The belief among the nations was that expanding the military would compel the other side to back down. By 1914, both Great Britain and Germany significantly expanded their navies. The arms race became another source of tension and ill-will. Furthermore, the military establishment in Germany and Russia started to have a greater sway on public policy. This increase in militarism helped push the nations involved into war.

Imperialism and Colonial Conflict

The latter half the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw European powers becoming subsumed by their imperial ambitions. Due to the Industrial

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Revolution these powers were in search of cheap raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods. Thus, in the 19th century the African continent and the Asian subcontinent were partitioned into colonial serfdom among the European imperialists. China was divided into spheres of influence among the European with the industrially advanced nation of Japan also joining the race for colonies in Asia. This simultaneous overseas expansion by European nations added to the tension that had already existed among them. On several occasions various projects and relief and developmental work in colonies led to conflicts that added flavour to the bitter relationship between various nations in Europe. For example, the project of the Trans-Siberian railway of Russia and Russian penetration into the Far East was partly responsible for the Russo–Japanese war 1904-05. The German Emperor’s imperialist policies were viewed with great suspicion by the British. His plan to build a railway line from Berlin to Baghdad was considered by the British to be a huge threat to its own interests in the Middle East.

Moreover, the nations of Italy and Germany had been newly formed in the 19th century, and unlike the British or the French, who had been invading nations and making them colonies for a long time, the Germans or the Italians could not boast of many colonies under their dominion. This created a sense of frustration among the German and Italian elites, who felt their progress was being hampered by their lack of colonies. Many historians today see the First World War as a war fought between the Imperialist powers to divide colonies among themselves.

International Crisis

The Morocco crisis of 1905, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, and the Agadir Crisis in 1911 added fuel to the air of suspicion that had taken over Europe by the beginning of the 20th century. Perhaps the most serious international crisis before the outbreak of the First World War was the two Balkan Wars fought in 1912-13. During the Balkan Wars, the rulers of Germany, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the United Kingdom attempted to keep the lid on the simmering cauldron of imperialist and nationalist tensions in the Balkans to prevent a general European war. They were successful in preventing the two Balkan Wars from becoming a wider war; however, the effects of the Balkan Wars precipitated the July Crisis of 1914 which eventually led to the First World War.

July Crisis

Immediately after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28th June 1914, a series of diplomatic manoeuvrings took place between various European nations. These manoeuvrings eventually led to an ultimatum from Austria-Hungary to the Kingdom of Serbia. The ultimatum was part of a pressurizing program meant to weaken Serbia as a threat to Austria-Hungary’s occupation of the northern Balkans which had a large southern Slavic population, including a majority Serbian community in Bosnia. This was supposed to be achieved either through diplomacy or by a localized war if the ultimatum was rejected. Austria-Hungary did not believe that their tactic would lead to a larger war in the region.

The Austrian government's ultimatum, among other things, demanded that the Serbian Government:

- Officially condemn anti-Austrian publications and propaganda
- Suppress anti-Austrian societies Bar anti-Austrian teachers and books from their schools
- Dismiss any government officials that Austria might name
- Accept help from Austria in checking obnoxious propaganda
- Allow Austrian officials to assist in the investigation of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

After the ultimatum was issued, Winston Churchill, the future prime minister of Great Britain wrote that, 'Europe is trembling on the verge of a general war. The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia being the most insolent document of its kind ever devised'. On receipt of the ultimatum, Serbia at once appealed to Russia, whose council of ministers met on July 24 to decide on a course of action. Russia believed that Germany was using the crisis over the assassination as a pretext for starting a preventive war to defend its interests in the region. Defying Austro-German expectations that Russia would back down in the case of conflict, the Russian council of ministers agreed to order four military districts to prepare for mobilization. Serbia's response to the ultimatum effectively accepted all terms of the ultimatum but one: it would not accept Austria-Hungary's participation in any internal inquiry, stating that this would be a violation of the Constitution and of the law of criminal procedure. Austria had the excuse it needed, one month after the assassination of the Archduke, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia.

Course of the First World War

Let's study about the course of the First World War.

Coalitions in the War

On 28 July 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia, bound by a treaty with Serbia, declared the mobilization of its huge army in its defence. Germany, who was allied to Austria-Hungary by a treaty, viewed this mobilization as an act of war against Austria-Hungary. Thus, Germany declared war on Russia. As France was bound by treaty with Russia, it ended up fighting against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Britain was also associated with France by a treaty, which placed a 'moral obligation' upon it to defend France. Under this obligation, Britain was forced to declare war on Germany on 4 August 1914. Apart from this, Britain was also obligated to defend neutral Belgium by the terms of a seventy-five year old treaty. On 4 August 1914, Germany invaded Belgium, following which the Belgian king requested Britain for assistance. Britain consented to defend Belgium. Like France, Britain too was at war with Austria-Hungary by extension. As Britain entered into the war, all its colonies and territories far and abroad offered financial and military

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assistance to it. These colonies and territories were comprised of India, Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa and New Zealand. On 23 August 1914, Japan declared a war on Germany after a military agreement was signed between Japan and Britain. In response to this, two days later, Austria-Hungary declared a war on Japan.

Italy, although allied to both Germany and Austria-Hungary, was successful in managing to keep itself away from entering the war. This was possible after it cited a clause, which allowed it to elude its obligations to both. As per the clause, Italy argued that it was committed to offer its services only if Germany and Austria-Hungary were in a 'defensive' war; but in this case, their actions were 'offensive'. Therefore, a policy of neutrality was declared by Italy. In May 1915, Italy finally entered the war, but it joined the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The reason for Italy joining the war against its former allies was because in 1915, Italy had signed the secret Treaty of London. Through this treaty, Britain had offered Italy large sections of territory in the Adriatic Sea region – Tyrol, Dalmatia and Istria. Britain and France wanted Italy to join in on their side so that a new front could open up to the south of the Western Front.

The plan was to split still further the Central Powers so that its power on the Western and Eastern Fronts was weakened.

On 7 May, 1915, German U-Boats sunk the ocean liner RMS Lusitania killing over 120 Americans. The killing outraged American citizens and resulted in the rise of Anti-German sentiments in the US. Moreover, Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare acutely endangered America's commercial shipping. This compelled the United States to abjure its policy of neutrality and finally step into the fray by declaring war on Germany on 6 April 1917.

Course of the War

The First World War began on 28 July 1914 with the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Serbia, which was followed by the German invasion of Belgium, Luxembourg and France and a Russian attack on Germany. After the German march on Paris was brought to an end, the Western Front settled into a static battle of slow destruction with a trench line that changed slightly until 1917. Although the Russian army was successful in suppressing the Austro-Hungarian forces, it was forced back by the German Army. More fronts opened after the Ottoman Empire entered the war in 1914, followed by Italy and Bulgaria in 1915 and Romania in 1916. The Russian empire came to an end in 1917 and later that year, Russia left the war after the October Revolution. After the United States entered the war, the allies started warding off the German armies. Germany finally consented to a ceasefire on 11 November 1918, which later came to be known as Armistice Day.

Miscommunication among the Central Powers

The Central Powers had strategy but they suffered from miscommunication. Although Germany had promised to extend its support to the Austria-Hungary's

invasion of Serbia, there was difference in the interpretations of what this meant. Austro-Hungarian leaders believed that Germany would cover its northern side against Russia. However, Germany envisaged Austria-Hungary leading the majority of its troops against Russia, while Germany dealt with France. This confusion compelled the Austro-Hungarian Army to divide its forces between the Russian and Serbian fronts.

The Campaign of Serbia

The Battle of Cer, which began on 12 August 1914, was fought between the Serbians against the invading Austro-Hungarians. The Serbian army occupied defensive positions on the south side of the Drina and Sava Rivers. Over the next two weeks, they were successful in making the Austrian army suffer heavy losses. This marked the first major Allied victory of the war and crushed Austro-Hungarian hopes to emerge as victorious. Consequently, Austria had to keep large forces on the Serbian front, weakening its efforts against Russia.

German Forces in Belgium and France

When the First World War began, the Germans executed a modified version of the Schlieffen Plan. This plan was designed to quickly attack France through neutral Belgium before turning southwards to surround the French army on the German border. The plan called for the German advance to converge on Paris, and initially, the Germans were very successful, especially in the Battle of the Frontiers (14–24 August 1914). By 12 September, with assistance from the British forces, the French prevented the German advance in the east of Paris at the first battle of the Marne (5–12 September 1914). The last days of this battle signified the end of mobile warfare in the west. The French attacks on Germany, which began on 7 August 1914, with the Battle of Mulhouse, had limited success.

The German Army managed to defeat the Russian Army in a series of battles, which were collectively known as the Battle of Tannenberg (17 August–2 September 1914). Despite such successes the German Army started having problems of insufficient speed of its advance, something that was not anticipated by the German General Staff. As a result, the Central Powers were unable to get a quick victory against the Russians and were forced to fight a war on two fronts.

Asia and the Pacific

On 30 August 1914, New Zealand occupied German Samoa (later Western Samoa). Later on 11 September, the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force settled on the island of Neu-Pommern (later New Britain), which formed part of German New Guinea. Japan captured Germany's Micronesian colonies, which was followed by the Siege of Tsingtao and the German coaling port of Qingdao in the Chinese Shandong peninsula. All the German territories in the Pacific were seized by the Allied forces within a few months; only isolated commerce raiders and a few holdouts in New Guinea remained.

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Beginning of Trench Warfare

Due to the arms race between various European nations, there was a massive improvement in the development of weapon systems before the outbreak of the First World War. These improvements resulted in the manufacturing of remarkable defence systems. Among the defence systems, the barbed wire was a significant obstruction to the advances of massed infantry. As opposed to those in the 1870s, artillery was designed to be more deadly as it was now coupled with machine guns, which made it very difficult to cross open ground. Moreover, poison gas was used by both sides in the war. Although the use of poison gas had vicious effects as it caused a slow and painful death, it never proved to be influential in winning a battle. However, its use is still regarded as one of the most feared horrors of the war. An important feature of the First World War seen on the Western Front was the concept of attrition warfare. Attrition warfare represented an attempt to grind down an opponent through superior numbers, using enormous amounts of artillery and other weapons. Many catastrophic battles were fought as a part of this 'War of Attrition'. One of which was the Battle of Verdun. In February 1916, Germany launched a massive attack on the French fortress of Verdun. The French in turn poured thousands of their soldiers into the battle. The battle resulted in about 700,000 soldiers killed or being wounded; the casualties were more or less equally divided between the two sides.

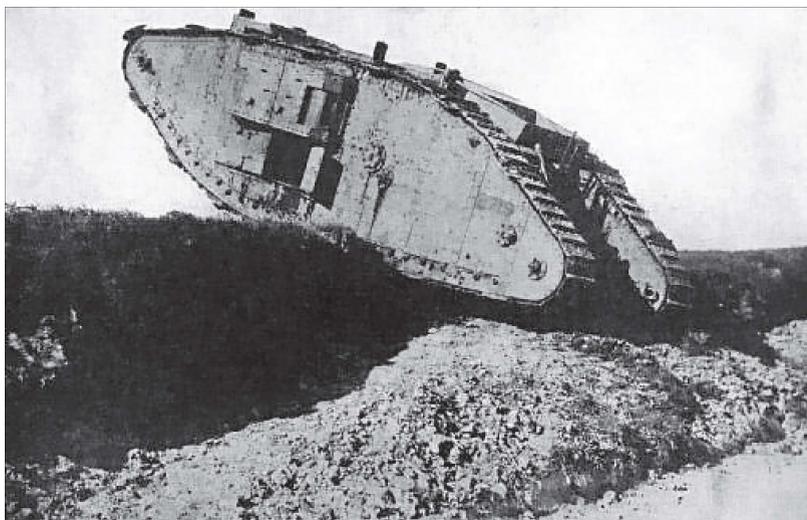


Fig. 1.2 British Tank used in the First World War

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:British_tank_crossing_a_trench.jpg)

Commanders on both sides were not successful in developing plans for infringing entrenched positions without incurring heavy casualties. However, eventually technology started to produce new violent weapons, such as the tank. Britain and France were the major users of tanks, while the Germans used captured Allied tanks and small numbers of their own design. After the First Battle of the Marne, both Entente and German forces started a series of outflanking operations,

in the so-called 'Race to the Sea'. Soon entrenched German forces from Lorraine to Belgium's coast confronted Britain and France.

Britain and France sought to take the offensive, while Germany defended the occupied territories. German trenches were constructed in a much better way than those of their enemy since Anglo-French trenches were constructed to be 'temporary' in nature before their forces attacked the German defences. Both parties endeavoured to break the deadlock by using modern weapons. On 22 April 1915, for the first time, the Germans used chlorine gas on the Western Front at the Second Battle of Ypres. On being gassed, the Algerian troops retreated and a four miles long hole opened up in the Allied lines. This was in no less time exploited by the Germans who took Kitcheners' Wood. At the Second Battle of Ypres, Canadian soldiers closed the breach, while at the Third Battle of Ypres, Canadian and ANZAC troops seized the village of Passchendaele.

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Fig. 1.3 British Trench in the Battle of Somme

(*Source:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Lancashire_Fusiliers_trench_Beaumont_Hamel_1916.jpg)

On 1 July 1916, the British Army suffered the bloodiest day in its history. It experienced 57,470 casualties, including 19,240 dead on the first day of the Battle of the Somme. Most of the casualties took place in the first hour of the attack with British infantry men being mowed down by German machine guns. The entire Battle of Somme cost the British army almost half a million men.

The events of 1917 proved decisive in ending the war, although their effects were not fully felt until 1918. Once the United States entered the war, the collapse of the Central Powers came swiftly. Bulgaria was the first to sign an armistice on 29 September 1918 at Saloniki. On 30 October, the Ottoman Empire capitulated at Moudros (Armistice of Mudros). In November 1918, the Allies had ample

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supplies of men and materiel to invade Germany, yet at the time of the armistice, no Allied force had crossed the German frontier and Berlin was still almost 1,400 km from the Western Front. A formal state of war between the two sides persisted for another seven months, until signing of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany on 28 June 1919. Later treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire were signed. Thus, the First World War ended with the defeat of the Central Powers and the victory of the Allies.

Consequences of the First World War

Destruction and Casualties

The First World War resulted in innumerable destruction of life and property. Nearly 10 million soldiers lost their lives and around 21 million men were wounded in the First World War. There is no statistic available as to how many civilians died due to diseases and because of the aftermath of the war. The cost of devastation was incalculable. The greatest property damage was in Belgium and France. War resulted in the destruction of factories, bridges and railroad tracks. Heavy artillery shells and trenches made land in many regions barren. The scale of destruction was such that the war was called the World War or the Great War from its occurrence until 1939.

Economic Consequences

Another huge impact of the First World War was the devastation it caused on the economies of European nations. The devastation was such that after the war European nations changed from being creditor nations to being debtor nations. European nations levied heavy taxes on their people to compensate the war expenditure. The United States was perhaps least impacted economically from the First World War. The devastation faced by Europe allowed the United States and nations such as Japan to achieve ascendancy in the world market. The United States also let European nations to borrow from it to pay for their reconstruction after the war.

Social consequences

The war brought about a major change in the social scenario as well. Due to the war, the population of Europe was checked temporarily. However, the advance in medicine and technology helped increase the population in Europe. Even more than that, the advances in technology also brought about rising standards of living and better quality of life. Urban area started witnessing growth with peasants settling there. Women chose to work and opted for more jobs. They filled jobs where men were less. This new found independence of women was a flag for the feminist revolution in the future. The onset of war resulted in the social distinctions among classes deteriorating with society becoming more democratic.

Political Consequences

The four major imperial powers ruled by monarchies—the Germans, Russians, Austro-Hungary and Ottoman Empires—were politically and militarily defeated by the end of the war. Thus, it can be stated that the First War resulted in a collapse of empires and a rise of nations. This collapse of empires and the rise of nations led to the redrawing of the map of Europe. The victory of democratic nations like Britain, France, Belgium, the United States and Italy immediately brought democracy in vogue. After the war, Germany set up the Weimar Republic with a parliamentary constitution to replace the old empire and Austria became a democratic republic. Moreover, the victorious nations became even more powerful after the war. Britain emerged as the most powerful colonial power. France recovered its glory by recovering the province of Alsace and Lorraine. Japan emerged as the powerful nation in the Far East. The United States emerged as the major economic power among the allies despite following the policy of isolationism prior to entering the First World War.

At the same time, the war also destroyed the traditional balance of power in Europe. There was formation of new nations like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. There was also a rise of dictatorships in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey. In Russia, the war resulted in the Russian Revolution and the formation of Soviet Russia. The turmoil in the newly formed German Weimar Republic eventually led to the rise of Adolf Hitler. These changes paved the way for even greater turmoil that was to occur in the future.

1.2.1 Peace Treaties

The First World War which continued for four years and three months, i.e., 1,566 days, involved mobilization of 65 million men of whom 7 million died and 13 million were wounded and which cost around 400 billion dollars. This was brought to an end by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and four other treaties concluded at various places by the Allies. In this landmark treaty of the world, the terms of peace with Germany were embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, which is the longest document of its kind. This peace treaty was a dictated one because the German diplomats were not at all consulted before its preparation, and it was finally imposed on them. The path of conclusion of the peace treaties was not at all smooth. There were many difficulties encountered by the peace conference mainly owing to the uncompromising nature of the delegates. The 1,037 delegates who attended the Paris Peace Conference, and almost all of them, as Langsam has said, ‘came to attend the Paris Peace Conference well equipped with records and memoranda’. The opinions and counter opinions of these experts further added to the difficulties of reaching an agreed decision. The lack of well-defined principles regarding the solution of the post-war problems and the future reconstruction of the world also stood in the way of leaders in finding any formula and a definite plan. The four leading figures; Woodrow Wilson of the US, Lloyd George of UK, Clemenceau

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of France, and Orlando of Italy, entrusted with the responsibility of taking a decision had no similarity of interests. While Wilson wanted to establish long and durable peace based on justice and neutrality instead of taking revenge on the enemy country, Clemenceau and Orlando were keener to protect the territorial interests of France and Italy, respectively. They were not much bothered about the problem of world peace. Lloyd George of UK was no doubt eager to establish international peace based on truth and justice, but he was willing to do all this only if the interests of the United Kingdom were protected. Hence, the proceedings of the Conference were hindered by the two conflicting approaches adopted by the leaders. Although Wilson was not in favour of secret diplomacy, in view of the eagerness of the powers like Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to observe the terms of these secret treaties, he was ultimately forced to compromise. Commenting on this, historians like Walter Consuelo Langsam in, *World Since 1919*, has said, 'Wilson's idealism came into sharp conflict with materialism at the conference and in most cases materialism triumphed'. All these difficulties were ultimately overcome before the Paris Peace Conference leading to the conclusion of five treaties:

- (i) The Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 concluded with Germany
- (ii) The Treaty of St. Germain of 10 September 1919 with Austria
- (iii) The Treaty of Neuilly of 27 November 1919 concluded with Bulgaria
- (iv) The Treaty of Trianon of 4 July 1920 concluded with Hungary; and
- (v) The Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920 concluded with Turkey (the Treaty of Sevres was revised in the Conference at Lausanne in 1923) and peace was formally established only on 6 August 1924 when the Treaty came into force.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the League of The Three Emperors?
2. What were the terms of the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance?
3. Name the armed camps into which Europe was divided.
4. Define nationalism.
5. What was partly responsible for the Russo–Japanese war 1904-05?
6. Name the colonies and territories of Britain, which offered financial and military assistance to it during the First World War.
7. What was attrition warfare?
8. Name the five treaties of the Paris Peace Conference.

1.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The understanding of Bismarck with the Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire led to an alliance between the three. In 1872, the three emperors, i.e., William I of Germany, Francis Joseph of the Austria-Hungary, and Czar Alexander II of Russia, met at Berlin and entered into a political understanding that led to the formation of the League of The Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*).
2. The terms of the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance stated that either country would support the other with arms if it was attacked by Germany with or without the other members of the triple Alliance. Thus, Europe came to be divided into two armed camps.
3. By 1907, the great powers of Europe came to be divided into two rival armed camps; the Triple Alliance comprising of Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy and the Triple Entente comprising of Great Britain, France and Russia.
4. Nationalism is the belief that loyalty to a nation and its political and economic goals came before any other public loyalty.
5. The project of the Trans-Siberian railway of Russia and Russian penetration into the Far East was partly responsible for the Russo–Japanese war 1904–05.
6. The colonies and territories of Britain, which offered financial and military assistance to it during the First World War were India, Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa and New Zealand.
7. Attrition warfare was an attempt to grind down an opponent through superior numbers, using enormous amounts of artillery and other weapons. Many catastrophic battles such as the Battle of Verdun were fought as a part of this ‘War of Attrition’.
8. The five treaties of the Paris Peace Conference are as follows:
 - (i) The Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 concluded with Germany
 - (ii) The Treaty of St. Germain of 10 September 1919 with Austria
 - (iii) The Treaty of Neuilly of 27 November 1919 concluded with Bulgaria
 - (iv) The Treaty of Trianon of 4 July 1920 concluded with Hungary; and
 - (v) The Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920 concluded with Turkey

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1.4 SUMMARY

- The First World War was fought between the world's great powers which were gathered into two opposing alliances- the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. The immediate cause of the war was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian youth named Gavrilo Princip.
- Bismarck undertook various foreign policy initiatives aimed at making France isolated and powerless. Bismarck entered into an alliance and understanding with Austria-Hungary which was fast becoming an eastern power itself and was trying to find an outlet in the Balkan Peninsula. For this purpose, Austria-Hungary needed German support against the Slavs races.
- The understanding of Bismarck with the Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire led to an alliance between the three. In 1872, the three emperors, i.e., William I of Germany, Francis Joseph of the Austria-Hungary, and Czar Alexander II of Russia, met at Berlin and entered into a political understanding that led to the formation of the League of The Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*).
- Bismarck decided to enter into a more concrete alliance with Austria as part of a system of alliances to prevent war. This system first led to the formation of the Austro-German Dual Alliance in 1879.
- The first big event after the retirement of Bismarck was the establishment of the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance. By the terms of the alliance, either country would support the other with arms if it was attacked by Germany with or without the other members of the triple Alliance. Thus, Europe came to be divided into two armed camps.
- In April 1904, a series of conventions were signed between France and Great Britain to settle the problems of Anglo-French colonies. As per one of these conventions, in return for French recognition of the British position in Egypt, Great Britain recognised the French position in Morocco.
- Since France and Russia were allies, it became an unwritten code to have an entente with Russia following the Anglo-French Entente. Thus a treaty similar to the French treaty was signed in 1907 under the guidance of Sir Edward Grey. The agreement respected the independence of Afghanistan and of Tibet and they allocated spheres of British and Russian influence in Persia.
- The triple alliance countries came to be known as the Central Powers and the triple entente countries came to be known as the Allied Powers. As the war took place, other nations also joined these alliances.
- During the 19th century a force spread across Europe that led to the First World War. This force was Nationalism - the belief that loyalty to a nation

and its political and economic goals came before any other public loyalty. This form of exaggerated patriotic fervour aggravated the tense situation in a Europe divided into armed camps.

- by the beginning of the twentieth century, an arms race had started. The belief among the nations was that expanding the military would compel the other side to back down. By 1914, both Great Britain and Germany significantly expanded their navies. The arms race became another source of tension and ill-will. Furthermore, the military establishment in Germany and Russia started to have a greater sway on public policy. This increase in militarism helped push the nations involved into war.
- Due to the Industrial Revolution European powers were in search of cheap raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods. Thus, in the 19th century the African continent and the Asian subcontinent were partitioned into colonial serfdom among the European imperialists.
- The nations of Italy and Germany had been newly formed in the 19th century, and unlike the British or the French, who had been invading nations and making them colonies for a long time, the Germans or the Italians could not boast of many colonies under their dominion. This created a sense of frustration among the German and Italian elites, who felt their progress was being hampered by their lack of colonies. Many historians today see the First World War as a war fought between the Imperialist powers to divide colonies among themselves.
- On 28 July 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia, bound by a treaty with Serbia, declared the mobilization of its huge army in its defence. Germany, who was allied to Austria-Hungary by a treaty, viewed this mobilization as an act of war against Austria-Hungary. Thus, Germany declared war on Russia. As France was bound by treaty with Russia, it ended up fighting against Germany and Austria-Hungary. Britain was also associated with France by a treaty, which placed a 'moral obligation' upon it to defend France. Under this obligation, Britain was forced to declare war on Germany on 4 August 1914.
- Italy, although allied to both Germany and Austria-Hungary, was successful in managing to keep itself away from entering the war. This was possible after it cited a clause, which allowed it to elude its obligations to both. As per the clause, Italy argued that it was committed to offer its services only if Germany and Austria-Hungary were in a 'defensive' war; but in this case, their actions were 'offensive'. Therefore, a policy of neutrality was declared by Italy.
- In May 1915, Italy finally entered the war, but it joined the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The reason for Italy joining the war against its former allies was because in 1915, Italy had signed the secret Treaty of London. Through this treaty, Britain had offered Italy large sections of

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territory in the Adriatic Sea region – Tyrol, Dalmatia and Istria. Britain and France wanted Italy to join in on their side so that a new front could open up to the south of the Western Front.

- The First World War began on 28 July 1914 with the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Serbia, which was followed by the German invasion of Belgium, Luxembourg and France and a Russian attack on Germany. After the German march on Paris was brought to an end, the Western Front settled into a static battle of slow destruction with a trench line that changed slightly until 1917.
- The Russian empire came to an end in 1917 and later that year, Russia left the war after the October Revolution. After the United States entered the war, the allies started warding off the German armies. Germany finally consented to a ceasefire on 11 November 1918, which later came to be known as Armistice Day.
- The German Army managed to defeat the Russian Army in a series of battles, which were collectively known as the Battle of Tannenberg (17 August–2 September 1914).
- On 1 July 1916, the British Army suffered the bloodiest day in its history. It experienced 57,470 casualties, including 19,240 dead on the first day of the Battle of the Somme. Most of the casualties took place in the first hour of the attack with British infantry men being mowed down by German machine guns. The entire Battle of Somme cost the British army almost half a million men.
- Another huge impact of the First World War was the devastation it caused on the economies of European nations. The devastation was such that after the war European nations changed from being creditor nations to being debtor nations. European nations levied heavy taxes on their people to compensate the war expenditure. The United States was perhaps least impacted economically from the First World War.
- The war also destroyed the traditional balance of power in Europe. There were formation of new nations like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. There was also a rise of dictatorships in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey. In Russia, the war resulted in the Russian Revolution and the formation of Soviet Russia. The turmoil in the newly formed German Weimar Republic eventually led to the rise of Adolf Hitler.
- The First World War which continued for four years and three months, i.e., 1,566 days, involved mobilization of 65 million men of whom 7 million died and 13 million were wounded and which cost around 400 billion dollars. This was brought to an end by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and four other treaties concluded at various places by the Allies.

1.5 KEY WORDS

- **Slavs races:** These are the ethnolinguistic groups of people who speak the various Slavic languages of the larger Balto-Slavic linguistic group of the Indo-European language family.
- **Triple entente:** The Triple Entente describes the informal understanding between the Russian Empire, the French Third Republic and Great Britain.
- **Nationalism:** It refers to the identification with one's own nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.
- **Militarism:** It refers to the belief that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests.
- **Imperialism:** It is a policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means.
- **Serfdom:** It is the state of being a serf or feudal labourer.
- **Cauldron:** It refers to a situation characterized by instability and strong emotions.
- **Attrition warfare:** It is a military strategy consisting of belligerent attempts to win a war by wearing down the enemy to the point of collapse through continuous losses in personnel and material.
- **Armistice Day:** It is the anniversary of the armistice of 11 November 1918, now replaced by Remembrance Sunday in the UK and Veterans Day in the US.

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1.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What was the cause of the First World War?
2. State the terms of the Austro-German Dual Alliance.
3. What were the demands of the Austrian government's ultimatum from the Serbian government after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in June 1914?
4. How Italy was successful in managing to keep itself away from entering the war?

5. Why did Italy join the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary despite being their ally?
6. How did the First World War end?

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Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the rise of nationalism as regards the First World War.
2. Explain the course of the First World War.
3. Illustrate the Trench Warfare.
4. Elucidate the economic, social and political consequences of the First World War.

1.7 FURTHER READING

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

UNIT 2 TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND OTHER TREATIES

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Overview of Treaty of Versailles and other Treaties
- 2.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Key Words
- 2.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 2.7 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The Paris Peace Conference convened in January 1919 at Versailles just outside Paris. The conference was called to establish the terms of the peace after the First World War. Though nearly thirty nations participated, the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Italy became known as the ‘Big Four’. The ‘Big Four’ dominated the proceedings that led to the formulation of the Treaty of Versailles that ended the war. The Treaty of Versailles articulated the compromises reached at the conference. It included the planned formation of the League of Nations, which would serve both as an international forum and an international collective security arrangement. Negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference were complicated. The United Kingdom, France, and Italy fought together as the Allied Powers during the First World War. The United States entered the war in April 1917 as an Associated Power. While it fought alongside the Allies, the United States was not bound to honor pre-existing agreements among the Allied Powers. Treaty negotiations were also weakened by the absence of other important nations. According to French and British wishes, the Treaty of Versailles subjected Germany to strict punitive measures. The Treaty required the new German Government to surrender approximately 10 percent of its prewar territory in Europe and all of its overseas possessions. Later on, many other peace treaties like the Treaty of St. Germain, the Treaty of Trianon, the Treaty of Sevres and the Treaty of Neuilly took place. Let’s study about them in this unit.

2.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the Treaty of Versailles

- Explain the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles
- Examine the factors for the failure of the Treaty of Versailles
- Discuss other peace treaties of the First World War

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2.2 OVERVIEW OF TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND OTHER TREATIES

The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919. The draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister on 7 May 1919 and Germany was given three weeks' time to file written objections if any. On 29 May objections to the Treaty were received from Germany. After the stiff attitude of Clemenceau, a revised Treaty with five days' time to accept the Treaty was issued. The Allies warned that if Germany failed to do so their country would be invaded. As Germany was under the grip of famine, the German Assembly decided to accept the terms of the Treaty, and they appended their signatures to the Treaty on June 28. Historians like Norman Lowe have commented that, 'The Treaty of Versailles in particular was one of the most controversial settlements ever signed, and it was criticised even in the Allied countries on the grounds that it was too hard on the Germans who were bound to object so violently that another war was inevitable, sooner or later'. In addition, many of the terms such as reparations and disarmament proved impossible to carry out.

Provisions of the Versailles Treaty

Given below are the provisions of the Versailles Treaty:

1. Territorial Provisions

The Treaty affected substantial territorial changes. According to the Treaty:

- (i) Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France, which it had taken from France in 1871. Belgium got back Eupen and Malmedy as well as Moresnet, which it got in partial compensation for the destruction of its forts by Germany.
- (ii) Germany agreed to give Upper Silesia and the southern part of East Prussia to Poland if the people concerned were in favour of joining it. The wishes of the people were to be determined by a plebiscite. When the plebiscite was actually held the decision was in favour of a complete merger with Germany. However, Poland insisted that it must be given those areas, which had Polish majority. After the intervention of France, the League Council partitioned Silesia, leaving more than half of the area and population to Germany, but the industrialized areas of Silesia were given to Poland. Danzing, the main port city of West Prussia was taken away from Germany and was set up as a free city under the administration of the League of Nations, because its population was wholly German.

- (iii) Mamel was given to Lithuania in 1924 and in the north Germany lost northern Schleswig to Denmark after a plebiscite.
- (iv) The Saar valley was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years, after which it was decided that the people would be allowed to vote on whether it should belong to France or Germany. In the meantime, France was given the exclusive rights of exploitation of coalmines of the Valley. Fifteen years after when the plebiscite was actually held, the people of Saar Valley voted for Germany.
- (v) Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which had been handed over to Germany by Russia at Brest-Litovsk, were taken away from it and set up as independent states. This was an example of self-determination being carried into practice.
- (vi) Germany was also forced to renounce its rights over its overseas colonies. The Germany colonies were later distributed amongst the various powers including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as mandates of the League; this meant that various member States of the League 'looked after' these colonies. Japan got the lease of Kiaochow and the German portion of the island of Soma was left to the care of New Zealand. While Australia was entrusted with the administration of German New Guiana, Togoland and Tanganyika were left to the administration of Great Britain. Certain portions of Tanganyika were left under the control of Belgium and Camerouns were given to France. The administrative rights over Germany and South-West Africa were given to the Union of South Africa.
- (vii) Germany also lost her economic privileges in Morocco, Bulgaria and in Turkey. Due to the Treaty, Germany lost around 90 lakh square miles area. The loss was accompanied by a blow to the German Pride because the Allies tried to justify their rule over the colonies by asserting that the German treatment of the native population in her colonies had been cruel and arbitrary.
- (viii) The treaty also provided that France pay war indemnity of five billion Francs to Germany. Till France had made the payment of the sum of five million Francs, the German army would continue to occupy parts of France.

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2. Military Provisions

The Treaty of Versailles considerably reduced the military might of Germany. It was compelled to abolish the German general staff and forced to reduce its army to 1 lakh with a small navy and merchant marine, without modern equipments, to be exclusively used only for police administration. The German navy was limited to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. As regards the air clauses, the Treaty absolutely forbade naval or military air forces for Germany. The Treaty also imposed restrictions on the manufacture of arms and ammunition. It was also forbidden to manufacture or purchase tanks, armoured cars, poisonous gases and submarines. The Rhineland was permanently demilitarized and Germany

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was not allowed to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhineland or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine. This meant German troupes were not allowed or maintained in the area and the existing fortifications had to be destroyed. The harbours of the Islands of Heligoland, Dune and Kiel Canal were also to be demilitarized and all fortifications demolished. It was even prevented from exporting and importing war materials. The military services were made voluntary and for 12 years for soldiers and 25 years for officers. The War Guilt clause fixed the blame for the outbreak of the War solely on Germany and its allies.

3. Economic Provisions and Reparations

The Treaty also aimed at keeping Germany economically weak. The League, therefore, held Germany responsible for the loss and damage caused during the War and asked to pay compensation to the Allied and Associated governments. The provisions of reparations were the final humiliation for the Germans. Though there could be little valid objections to the general principle of reparations, many historians now agree that the actual amount decided by the Reparation Commission was far too high. Germany was to pay reparations for the damage done to the allies and the actual amount was not decided at Versailles. However, after much argument and haggling it was announced later in 1921. The problem of payment of reparation proved complicated as it was very difficult to arrive at an amount which Germany would pay to the Allies. For that a Reparation Commission was set up and the representatives of Great Britain, USA, Italy, France and Japan were to decide the compensation amount. On 28 April 1921, the Commission assessed the debt of Germany at 6,600 million pounds. This amount led the Germans to protest that it was impossible to pay and they soon began to default their annual instalments. The international tension resurfaced when France tried to force the Germans to pay. Eventually, the Allies admitted their mistake and reduced the amount to 2,000 million pounds as per the Young Plan of 1929. But, not before reparations had proved disastrous both economically and politically. This amount was successively scaled down and finally abolished in 1932.

The Treaty also recognized the rights of the Allies to the replacement of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged in the War (ton for ton and class for class). As per the Reparation Commission, Germany had to deliver large quantities of coal for 10 years to France, Belgium and Italy. It was also to deliver a large number of horses, cattle, sheep, etc., to France and Belgium. All German properties in the former German colonies and in the Allied countries were to be confiscated and its pre-war trading concessions with the signatories like Morocco, Egypt and China were to be abolished. The Rivers Elbe and Oder of Germany were internationalized with a view to provide Switzerland and Czechoslovakia an access to the sea. The Kiel Canal was internationalized and thrown open for all ships of all nations. The Allies also demanded that Germany should allow free passage to merchant and war vessels of all countries.

4. Legal Provisions

The Allies also demanded that King Kaiser William II, the emperor of Germany should be tried as a war criminal for committing 'the supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties'. He was to be tried for these offences by a special tribunal. These provisions however, could not be implemented because the government of Netherlands refused to surrender the German king Kaiser William II, where he had taken shelter. However, as per the legal provisions within 6 months of the implementation of the Treaty Germany was to restore all the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away by her forces from France during the Franco-German War and the World War. Germany was also to compensate the University of Louvain for the destruction of her manuscripts and documents and hand over two paintings to Belgium which were at that time in Germany. The Treaty of Versailles was one of the most controversial documents signed by the nations in modern times. So, the Germans described it as a dictated peace, a Treaty forced upon by the vanquished. Throughout the Conference the representatives did not consult the Germans even once and their objections were completely overruled. Germany was forced to sign the treaty under threat of another invasion of their country. Lloyd George, who consistently advocated a lenient peace with Germany said, 'These terms are written in the blood of fallen heroes. We must carry out the edict of Providence and see that the people who inflicted this war shall never be in a position to do so again. The Germans say that they will not sign. Their newspapers say they will not sign. The politicians say the same thing. We say, Gentlemen, you must sign. If you do not do so in Versailles you shall do so in Berlin'. Even historian E.H. Carr in *International Relations between two World Wars*, has said, 'Nearly every treaty which brings a war to an end, is in one sense a dictated peace, for a defeated power seldom accepts willingly the consequences of its defeat. But in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times'. It was, thus, evident that the element of dictation was very much present in the Treaty of Versailles. But this was not something peculiarly confined to this Treaty alone. The revengeful attitude of Germany as manifested in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk and the Treaty of Bucharest concluded with Russia and Romania respectively. This further hardened the attitude of the Allies because 'the minds of the German rulers were too clearly revealed by these treaties to permit any illusion'.

Undoubtedly, the peace settlement did not exactly succeed in maintaining peace. The leaders of the Peace Conference wanted Germany to pay heavily so that an event of this magnitude was not repeated. Even Lloyd George, who stood for the lenient treatment of Germany, won the famous *Khaki* election with the slogan, 'We shall hang Kaiser and make Germany pay to the last penny'.

The element of reciprocity was also missing from the Treaty with regard to disarmament, transportation, colonies, abolition of capitulations, punishment of officers, etc. All these provisions were unilaterally applied to Germany alone and

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the Allies were completely exempted from them. If disarmament was reasonable for Germany, it was obviously reasonable for the Allies. However, except Great Britain, no other Allied power agreed to disarm. If the principles of reciprocity and natural justice had been followed, the Treaty of Versailles would have been a piece of justice. Without reciprocity, it was a Treaty of force and its terms could be executed only so long as the force continued to be applied to make them execute it.

It has been said by the critics of the Treaty that the seeds of the Second World War lay in the Treaty of Versailles. However, no great diplomatic instrument like the Treaty has been modified, revised and infringed in the same way as the Treaty of Versailles. In 1926, Part 1 of the Treaty was amended to enable Germany to get the membership of the League of Nations. Part V dealing with military, navy and air force was violated by Germany in 1935. Part VII dealing with the War criminals was allowed to go by default. Part VIII, dealing with reparation, was modified by the Reparation Commission and other committees in 1931 before it was given a decent burial by the World Economic Conference. Part II and III dealing with the western, northern, and eastern boundary of Germany were violated by Germany. The other steps which infringed the Treaty of Versailles again and again, including promulgation of new military laws by Germany, conclusion of Naval Treaty with Britain in 1935, occupation of Austria by Germany in 1938, and the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by Germany in 1939. Thus, the Treaty of Versailles proved ineffective in its purpose due to the fact that the Treaty failed to satisfy neither the victors nor the vanquished. The Treaty failed to establish permanent peace, not because of its inherent faults in the Treaty, but it was mainly due to the subsequent policies pursued by the Allied Powers and Germany.

Other Peace Treaties

Apart from the Treaty of Versailles, four other treaties were also signed with the Allied Power by Germany.

1. The Treaty of St. Germain

When Austria was on the verge of defeat in the War, the Habsburg Empire disintegrated as various states declared themselves independent. Austria and Hungary separated and declared themselves republics. Therefore, many important decisions had already been taken before the Peace Conference. However, the situation was chaotic and the task of the Conference was to formalise and recognise what had taken place. The Treaty of St. Germain was signed with Austria on 10 September 1919 and was to a large extent modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. The Peace Conference by this Treaty recognised the independence of Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. By this Treaty Austria lost Bohemia and Moravia which were wealthy industrial provinces with a population of 10 million to the new state of Czechoslovakia. Countries like Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina merged with Serbia. Serbia with Montenegro became known as Yugoslavia. Austria also lost

Bukovina to Romania, Galicia to the reconstituted state of Poland and the South Tyrol, Trentino, Istria and Trieste to Italy. Thus, three-fourth of the territory and people got detached from Austria. The Treaty also forbade the Union between Austria and Germany and greatly curtailed the military and navy of Austria. Its army was reduced to 30,000 volunteers and navy was reduced to 3 police boats on the Danube. Austria assented to a blank reparation cheque and acknowledged the rights of the Allies Powers to try Austrian war criminals. Then it was accorded access to the Adriatic Sea across the territories that formerly formed part of the Habsburg domain.

2. The Treaty of Trianon

This Treaty was signed with the national government of Hungary at Trianon on 20 June 1920. By this Treaty, the ancient Magyar kingdom was dissolved into its ethnic components. This Treaty was not signed until 1920 because of the political uncertainties in the capital city of Budapest. The communists led by Belakun seized power and were then overthrown. According to the Treaty, Slovakia and Ruthenia were given to Czechoslovakia, Croatia and Slovenia to Yugoslavia, and Transylvania and the *Banat* of Temeswar to Romania.

Like Austria, the Treaty left Hungary with serious economic consequences. It was as badly affected like Germany and Austria. Its population reduced from 21 million to 7.5 million and some of its richest corn land was lost to Romania. Situation worsened when all the new states quickly introduced import and export duties. These hampered the flow of trade through the whole Danube area and made the industrial recovery difficult. Hungary's army was reduced to 35,000 men and its navy was curtailed to a few petrol boats. It was held responsible for war guilts and had to pay war reparations. This Treaty of Trianon also sowed the seeds of the acute racial disturbances and animosities which occurred later.

3. The Treaty of Sevres

This Treaty was signed with Turkey on 10 August 1920, although it actually came into force on 6 August 1924. This Treaty was also modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. According to the terms of the Treaty of Sevres, Asia Minor, Trace, Adrinople and Gallipole were given to Greece. Syria was delivered to France. Palestine and Mesopotamia were given to Great Britain. The king of Hejjaj was declared independent and the state of Turkey was restricted within the Asia Minor. As per the Agreement Turkey's army was reduced to 50,000 and it surrendered all its air force to the Allies. The Turkish ports of Constantinople and Alexandria were placed under international control. Although Turkey was charged with war guilt the reparation claims were waived in its case. The huge loss of territory, especially Smyrna on the Turkish mainland, outraged the Turkish national feeling led by Mustafa Kemal. They rejected the Treaty and chased the Greeks out of Smyrna. The Italians and France withdrew their occupying forces from the Straits area leaving only British troupes at Chanak. Eventually a compromise was reached

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and the settlement was revised by the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 by which Turkey regained Eastern Thrace including Constantinople and Smyrna. It was, therefore, the first state to challenge the Paris Peace Settlement successfully. The Treaty also uplifted the limitations imposed on the Turkish navy and military. Turkey also became independent in the economic sphere.

4. The Treaty of Neuilly

This Treaty was signed on 27 November 1919 with Bulgaria. According to the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly the western part of Bulgaria which was inhabited by a large majority of Bulgarians was ceded to Yugoslavia. Western Trace and the Aegean coasts were handed over to Greece though Bulgaria was guaranteed access to the Aegean Sea. As per the Treaty of Neuilly the army of Bulgaria was reduced to 33,000 men and its navy was practically abolished. It was, however, allowed for police and fishery duties 4 Torpedo boats and 6 motorboats but a condition was fixed that these boats were to be without Torpedo and its apparatus. Bulgaria accepted reparation obligations and the reparations were finally fixed at 9 million dollar in 37 years commencing from 1 January 1921. The Treaty thus deprived Bulgaria of 2750 sq miles of territory and 3 lakhs people.

The historians believed that these peace settlements were not a conspicuous success and they actually divided Europe into the states which wanted a revised settlement, among whom Germany being the main one, and those which wanted to preserve it the way it was. On the whole, there was lukewarm support to the latter. However, the Unites States could not rectify the settlement and was unable to join the League of Nations. France was completely disillusioned with the whole thing as the Anglo-American guarantee of her frontiers mentioned in the Agreement could not be executed. Italy also felt cheated as it did not receive all the promised territory in 1915, and Russia was ignored because the powers did not want to negotiate with it. Because of this, Germany was only temporarily weakened and was soon strong enough to cause problems. All this tended to sabotage the settlement from the beginning and it became highly difficult to apply the terms fully.

Check Your Progress

1. What further hardened the attitude of the Allies to use the element of dictation in the Versailles Treaty?
2. What did the historians believe about the various peace settlements?
3. What were the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly?

2.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The revengeful attitude of Germany as manifested in the Treaty of Brest Litovask and the Treaty of Bucharest concluded with Russia and Romania

respectively further hardened the attitude of the Allies to use the element of dictation in the Treaty of Versailles.

2. The historians believed that these peace settlements were not a conspicuous success and they actually divided Europe into the states which wanted a revised settlement, among whom Germany being the main one, and those which wanted to preserve it the way it was.
3. According to the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly the western part of Bulgaria was ceded to Yugoslavia. Western Trace and the Aegean coasts were handed over to Greece though Bulgaria was guaranteed access to the Aegean Sea and the army of Bulgaria was reduced to 33,000 men and its navy was practically abolished.

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2.4 SUMMARY

- The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919.
- Historians like Norman Lowe have commented that, ‘The Treaty of Versailles in particular was one of the most controversial settlements ever signed, and it was criticised even in the Allied countries on the grounds that it was too hard on the Germans who were bound to object so violently that another war was inevitable, sooner or later’.
- According to the Treaty of Versailles, Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France, which it had taken from France in 1871. Belgium got back Eupen and Malmédy as well as Moresnet, which it got in partial compensation for the destruction of its forts by Germany.
- After the intervention of France, the League Council partitioned Silesia, leaving more than half of the area and population to Germany, but the industrialized areas of Silesia were given to Poland. Danzing, the main port city of West Prussia was taken away from Germany and was set up as a free city under the administration of the League of Nations, because its population was wholly German.
- Germany was also forced to renounce its rights over its overseas colonies. The Germany colonies were later distributed amongst the various powers including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as mandates of the League; this meant that various member States of the League ‘looked after’ these colonies.
- The Saar valley was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years, after which it was decided that the people would be allowed to vote on whether it should belong to France or Germany.
- Germany was also forced to renounce its rights over its overseas colonies. The Germany colonies were later distributed amongst the various powers

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- including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as mandates of the League; this meant that various member States of the League ‘looked after’ these colonies.
- The Treaty of Versailles also provided that France pay war indemnity of five billion Francs to Germany. Till France had made the payment of the sum of five million Francs, the German army would continue to occupy parts of France.
 - The Treaty also imposed restrictions on the manufacture of arms and ammunition. It was also forbidden to manufacture or purchase tanks, armoured cars, poisonous gases and submarines. The Rhineland was permanently demilitarized and Germany was not allowed to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhineland or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine.
 - On 28 April 1921, the Reparation Commission assessed the debt of Germany at 6,600 million pounds. This amount led the Germans to protest that it was impossible to pay and they soon began to default their annual instalments. This amount was successively scaled down and finally abolished in 1932.
 - The element of reciprocity was also missing from the Treaty with regard to disarmament, transportation, colonies, abolition of capitulations, punishment of officers, etc. All these provisions were unilaterally applied to Germany alone and the Allies were completely exempted from them.
 - If the principles of reciprocity and natural justice had been followed, the Treaty of Versailles would have been a piece of justice. Without reciprocity, it was a Treaty of force and its terms could be executed only so long as the force continued to be applied to make them execute it.
 - In 1926, Part I of the Treaty was amended to enable Germany to get the membership of the League of Nations. Part V dealing with military, navy and air force was violated by Germany in 1935. Part VII dealing with the War criminals was allowed to go by default. Part VIII, dealing with reparation, was modified by the Reparation Commission and other committees in 1931 before it was given a decent burial by the World Economic Conference. Part II and III dealing with the western, northern, and eastern boundary of Germany were violated by Germany.
 - When Austria was on the verge of defeat in the War, the Habsburg Empire disintegrated as various states declared themselves independent. Austria and Hungary separated and declared themselves republics.
 - The Treaty of Trianon was signed with the national government of Hungary at Trianon on 20 June 1920. By this Treaty, the ancient Magyar kingdom was dissolved into its ethnic components.

- The Treaty of Sevres was signed with Turkey on 10 August 1920, although it actually came into force on 6 August 1924. This Treaty was also modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. According to the terms of the Treaty of Sevres, Asia Minor, Thrace, Adrinople and Gallipole were given to Greece. Syria was delivered to France. Palestine and Mesopotamia were given to Great Britain.
- The Treaty of Neuilly was signed on 27 November 1919 with Bulgaria. According to the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly the western part of Bulgaria which was inhabited by a large majority of Bulgarians was ceded to Yugoslavia. Western Thrace and the Aegean coasts were handed over to Greece though Bulgaria was guaranteed access to the Aegean Sea. As per the Treaty of Neuilly the army of Bulgaria was reduced to 33,000 men and its navy was practically abolished.

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2.5 KEY WORDS

- **Plebiscite:** It is a law enacted by the plebeians' assembly.
- **Colony:** It refers to a country or area under the full or partial political control of another country and occupied by settlers from that country.
- **Reparations:** It is the compensation for war damage paid by a defeated state.
- **Reciprocity:** It is the practice of exchanging things with others for mutual benefit, especially privileges granted by one country or organization to another.
- **Disarmament:** It is the reduction or withdrawal of military forces and weapons.
- **Sabotage:** It is the action of deliberately destroying, damaging, or obstructing (something), especially for political or military advantage.

2.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the treaty of St. Germain.
2. What was the Treaty of Sevres?
3. 'Germany was only temporarily weakened and was soon strong enough to cause problems.' Give reason.

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Long Answer Questions

1. Explain the distribution of the German colonies according to the Treaty of Versailles.
2. Describe the economic provisions and reparations of the Treaty of Versailles.
3. 'The Treaty of Versailles was a Treaty of force.' Comment.

2.7 FURTHER READING

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

UNIT 3 LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Overview of The League of Nations
- 3.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Key Words
- 3.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 3.7 Further Readings

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

The League of Nations was an international organization, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, created after the First World War to provide a forum for resolving international disputes. Though first proposed by President Woodrow Wilson as part of his Fourteen Points plan for an equitable peace in Europe, the United States never became a member. The idea of the League was grounded in the broad, international revulsion against the unprecedented destruction of the First World War and the contemporary understanding of its origins. The League's main organs were an Assembly of all members, a Council made up of five permanent members and four rotating members, and an International Court of Justice. Let's study in detail in the following unit.

3.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the inception of the League of Nations
- Discuss the working of the League
- Explain the achievements and the reasons of failure of the League

3.2 OVERVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The First World War due to its devastating impact resulted in the people of Europe becoming disgusted by war. After the war came to an end anti war sentiment rose across the world. Much was written and spoken of against the idea of war. To ensure that a war like the First World War never occurred again, President Woodrow Wilson in his fourteen points called for, 'a general association of nations under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike'. In this regard,

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the Paris Peace Conference proposed the formation of the League of Nations. The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by a special commission, and the League was established by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.

The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10 January 1920. The headquarters of the League of Nations was in Geneva, Switzerland. The aims and objective of the League of Nations were included in the covenant of the league. The primary goals of the League of Nations included preventing wars through 'collective security and disarmament', and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration. The other issues that the League looked at included labour conditions, human and drug trafficking, arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe.

Membership

The membership of the League of Nations included Latin American states, Japan and China, the dominions of the British Commonwealth, countries from the Middle East and the majority of European nations. The total membership of the league was nations in 1920 which increased to 50 nations by 1924 and 60 nations by 1934.

Major organs and working of the league: The following were the main organs of the League of Nations:

- (a) **The Assembly:** The Assembly was the supreme deliberative body of the League of Nations. Formed on the principle of equality, every member nation irrespective of its size had an equal vote in it. The assembly met annually in Geneva on the first Monday of September. It controlled the budget and had a general authority over the league's affairs including the admission of members. As per rules, the decision of the assembly was unopposed and any dissenting vote was considered a veto. The assembly had elective powers and it elected the members of the council and fifteen judges of the permanent court of international justice for a nine year terms. It also approved the nomination of the secretary general.
- (b) **The Council:** The Council was a smaller body and met at least every three months and could be summoned on occasions of emergency. The refusal of the United States to be a permanent member of the council left only Britain, France, Italy and Japan with permanent seats though Germany was added in 1926. The first non-permanent members of the council were Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain. The number of elected members was six in 1922, nine in 1926, ten in 1933 and eleven in 1936. The Council dealt with any matter within the sphere of the objectives of the league or any matter that affected the peace of the world.
- (c) **The Secretariat:** The Secretariat was headed by the Secretary General of the League of Nations. It was a civil service of salaried officers permanently employed in carrying on the international business of the League at its headquarters in Geneva. The first secretary general of the League was Sir Eric Drummond of Britain who occupied the post from 1920 to 1933. He was assisted by two undersecretaries.

- (d) **The Permanent Court of International Justice:** The Permanent Court of International Justice had fifteen judges of different nationalities who were elected jointly by the Council and Assembly. The Permanent Court was inaugurated on 15th February 1922 and continued to work till October 1945. Its headquarters was situated at Hague.
- (e) **The International Labour Organisation or the ILO:** The ILO of the League of Nations had its annual general conference where each member nation sent four delegates, two representing the member government, one the employers and one representing the employees. The first director of the ILO was a French socialist named Albert Thomas.

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Achievements of the League

The League of Nations was extremely successful during the first ten years after the First World War. Some of the achievements are listed below:

1. It settled several international political disputes. The Aland Islands dispute between Finland and Sweden was sorted out by the commission established by the League. The League also solved a dispute between Poland and Germany over a boundary line near Upper Silesia, which was an important economic zone. In 1921, the League of Nations secured the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Albania by the threat of imposing economic sanctions under Article 16 of the League. The League solved the Corfu incident of August 1923 between Italy and Greece. The League checked the Greek invasion on Bulgaria in 1925.
2. The League also showed exemplary success in certain social achievements too. It did a lot to check the trafficking of drugs. There were efforts also taken in order to check the illegal and immoral trafficking of women and children. It took steps to abolish slavery. A permanent convention on slavery was set up at Geneva in 1925. The health organisation of the League did very good job in investigating the causes of epidemics, for example the epidemic of typhus was checked in Russia effectively.
3. The League also had several economic laurels in its cap. The financial committee of the League advised the Council on general financial matters. The first World Economic Conference was held at Brussels in 1920. Following the Great Depression the Council of the League of Nations convened the International Monetary Conference at London in 1933.
4. The League is also credited with achieving success in the sphere of cultural cooperation. In 1922, the League appointed an International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It tried to coordinate 'international collaboration with a view to promoting the progress of general civilisation and human knowledge and notably the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts'.

After the First World War, several colonies and territories were distributed among the victorious nations as 'mandates'. These territories were not to

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be annexed but entrusted to the victorious nations to improve the conditions of the mandate territories. Article 22 of the League allowed the setting up of the Mandate Commission which was entrusted with the task of dealing with the system of mandates. The countries and their mandate were as follows:

- Britain - Mesopotamia, Tanganyika and Palestine
- France - Syria and Lebanon
- Belgium- Ruanda-Urundi
- Japan - German Islands in Northern Pacific
- Australia - German Islands in South Pacific
- New-Zealand - Western Samoa
- Union of South Africa - Namibia

The mandate commission's task was to ensure that the state given the mandate governed their respective mandates well and prepared the mandates for independence. Iraq moved towards independence as early as 1932. However most of the other mandate nations received their independence closer to the Second World War or after it.

Failure of the League of Nations

Although it is true that the League did venture into several issues of international cooperation, the greatest test of its functioning was the outbreak of the Second World War. The inability of the League of Nations to stop another world war was evident enough of its failure; the League failed when the world needed it most. After especially 1930, the League was not able to promote peace, security and international cooperation. There were number of factors responsible for the failure of the League of Nations. The factors are enumerated below:

- The League was connected to the discriminatory Treaty of Versailles
- Despite the American President Woodrow Wilson being at the forefront calling for the formation of the League after the First World War, the United States of America never joined the League. Thus the League was handicapped from the beginning without the USA
- The League also did not have other great powers like Soviet Russia as members
- The League failed to achieve disarmament
- Rise of dictatorships in Italy and Germany
- The failure of the League to check aggression
- The collapse of the notion of collective security

Despite all these failures, it must be admitted that the League of Nations was a great international experiment in the maintenance of international peace. The League of Nations also pioneered the way of international peace organisations which ultimately was realised by the establishment of the United Nations Organisation in 1945.

Check Your Progress

1. What were the primary goals of the League of Nations?
2. Who were included in the membership of the League of Nations?
3. What was 'Mandate Commission'?

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3.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The primary goals of the League of Nations included preventing wars through 'collective security and disarmament', and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.
2. The membership of the League of Nations included Latin American states, Japan and China, the dominions of the British Commonwealth, countries from the Middle East and the majority of European nations.
3. Mandate Commission was set up under the Article 22 of the League of Nations. It was entrusted with the task of dealing with the system of mandates.

3.4 SUMMARY

- To ensure that a war like the First World War never occurred again, President Woodrow Wilson in his fourteen points called for, 'a general association of nations under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike'. In this regard, the Paris Peace Conference proposed the formation of the League of Nations. The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by a special commission, and the League was established by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.
- The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10 January 1920. The headquarters of the League of Nations was in Geneva, Switzerland. The aims and objective of the League of Nations were included in the covenant of the league. The primary goals of the League of Nations included preventing wars through 'collective security and disarmament', and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.
- The membership of the League of Nations included Latin American states, Japan and China, the dominions of the British Commonwealth, countries from the Middle East and the majority of European nations.
- The Assembly was the supreme deliberative body of the League of Nations. Formed on the principle of equality, every member nation irrespective of its size had an equal vote in it. The assembly met annually in Geneva on the first Monday of September. It controlled the budget and had a general authority over the league's affairs including the admission of members.

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- The first secretary general of the League was Sir Eric Drummond of Britain who occupied the post from 1920 to 1933. He was assisted by two undersecretaries.
- The Aland Islands dispute between Finland and Sweden was sorted out by the commission established by the League. The League also solved a dispute between Poland and Germany over a boundary line near Upper Silesia, which was an important economic zone. In 1921, the League of Nations secured the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Albania by the threat of imposing economic sanctions under Article 16 of the League.
- The financial committee of the League advised the Council on general financial matters. The first World Economic Conference was held at Brussels in 1920. Following the Great Depression the Council of the League of Nations convened the International Monetary Conference at London in 1933.
- The League of Nations was a great international experiment in the maintenance of international peace. The League of Nations also pioneered the way of international peace organisations which ultimately was realised by the establishment of the United Nations Organisation in 1945.

3.5 KEY WORDS

- **Deliberative body:** It is a gathering of members who use parliamentary procedure to make decisions.
- **Mandate:** It refers to a commission from the League of Nations to a member state to administer a territory.

3.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What were some disputes and issues solved by the League of Nations?
2. List the countries and their mandate.

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the main organs of the League of Nations.
2. Explain the achievements of the League of Nations.
3. Elucidate the factors responsible for the failure of the League of Nations.

3.7 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

BLOCK II
PERIOD BETWEEN I & II WORLD WAR

NOTES

**UNIT 4 WILSON, SECURITY AND
DISARMAMENT**

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Wilson's Fourteen Points
- 4.3 Security and Disarmament
 - 4.3.1 Locarno Pact and Kellogg Briand Pact
- 4.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Key Words
- 4.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Readings

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In an address to Congress, Jan. 8, 1918, President Wilson enunciated fourteen points which he regarded as the only possible basis of an enduring peace. In this unit we will study about all these points in detail. In this unit we will also learn about the security and disarmament and Locarno-Kellogg Briand Pact and the concept of peace which is viewed as very important in present times. Disarmament simply means reduction of arms and weapons via international agreements and various treaties which is signed between two or more states. Since the resort to fight any type of violent act is often related to using weapon, thereby the best way to prevent any type of violent fights is by denying access to any sorts of weapons. Disarmament is seen as a very important goal to those who wish to actively control the occurrence and use of weapons. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was an agreement to outlaw war signed on August 27, 1928. Sometimes called the Pact of Paris for the city in which it was signed, the pact was one of many international efforts to prevent another World War, but it had little effect in stopping the rising militarism of the 1930s or preventing World War II. Let us discuss in detail about this in the following unit.

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4.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson
- Understand the meaning and history of disarmament and arms control
- Explain the Locarno- Kellogg Briand Pact

4.2 WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

Germany agreed to sign the armistice that signalled the end of the war on the back of the US President Woodrow Wilson's peace proposals. Wilson's ideas for peace were laid out in his famous 'Fourteen Points' address to Congress on 8 January 1918. In the speech, Wilson opposed the idea of any secret treaty and suggested moderate punishment, both economically and territorially for Germany. Of the fourteen points, five points established general ideals, eight points dealt with immediate political and territorial problems and the fourteenth point called for an association to help keep peace in the world.

The fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson are summarized as follows:

1. No more secret agreements ('Open covenants openly arrived at')
2. Free navigation in all seas
3. An end to all economic barriers between countries
4. Reduction of national armaments
5. All decisions regarding the colonies should be impartial
6. The evacuation of the German Army from all Russian territory it holds. Moreover, Russia should be left to develop her own political set-up
7. Independence of Belgium
8. France should be fully liberated and allowed to recover Alsace-Lorraine
9. All Italians are to be allowed to live in Italy. Italy's borders to be 'along clearly recognisable lines of nationality'
10. Self-determination should be allowed for all those living in Austria-Hungary
11. Self-determination and guarantees of independence should be allowed for the Balkan states
12. The Turkish people should be governed by the Turkish government. Non-Turks in the old Turkish Empire should govern themselves
13. An independent Poland should be created which should have access to the sea
14. A League of Nations should be set up to guarantee the political and territorial independence of all states

Representatives from 32 allied countries and associated powers met at Paris to draw the peace settlement after the First World War. The defeated Central powers, neutral countries and Russia did not find any representation in this conference. Decision making in the conference was confined to the Allied nations alone. The most important nations in the conference were the ‘big four’ nations. These nations essentially drew up the peace proposals after the First World War. The ‘Big Four’ were President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Premier Clemenceau of France who presided over the conference and Premier Orlando of Italy. Different treaties were imposed on the defeated Central powers. The one treaty that was to have a huge impact on the future course of the world after the First World War was the Treaty of Versailles.

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Fig. 4.1 The ‘Big Four’ during the Paris Peace Conference (from left to right PM Lloyd George, Premier Orlando, Premier Clemenceau and President Wilson)

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Big_four.jpg)

Check Your Progress

1. What were the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson about?
2. Who were the ‘Big Four’?

4.3 SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

Since the mid-19th century, disarmament has been a goal of various peace movements and individual peace leaders. With the rapid development of nuclear weapons in present times, Disarmament has become a very urgent and complicated issue. In order to maintain peace and progress of the human civilization disarmament is very necessary. World War I saw the use of innumerable weapons which eventually led to the mass destruction which made people frightened. Thereby, disarmament is used in order to limit war which emerged as an urgent concern for the League of Nations. In order to stop wars and to develop trust between the states, use of weapons is required to be eliminated.

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Brief History of Disarmament

The history of disarmament goes back to earlier times. Its dated history can be traced back to as late as 546 B.C when warring Chinese principalities gathered at a conference and signed a disarmament agreement to end the ongoing wars going on among them.

With the beginning of the modern era the desire for disarmament grew at a steady rate among the big powers. Russia and Western powers made several attempts for the same. But none of these attempts could become successful due to serious allegations and suspicions against these great powers. But it is important to note at the same time that not all disarmament efforts ended in failure. Maybe the first disarmament agreement in the modern times which is still continuing was the one signed in 1817 by the Great Britain and the USA, called as the Rush-Bagot Agreement sought to undermine the Canadian American Frontier.

The very first International disarmament conference was held in the year 1899 at Hague. The conference wasn't a much success although a lot of major powers were its attendee. However, it passed resolutions setting out certain type of lethal weapons, and called upon the states to reduce the military expenses so that more funds could be diverted for the purpose of development funds. The second international disarmament conference was also held in Hague in the year 1907. The conference failed to stop today's growing arms race.

After World War I broke out in 1914, the first international organization, which is called as the League of Nations was established in the year 1920 which served as a forum for discussions on the issues connected with the disarmament. A lot of conferences were held on the same. For instance, in 1922 the United States organized a Naval Conference in Washington. The Washington Naval Conference ended with an agreement that settled limited for the size of warships, imposed restrictions on the construction of warships and aviation operations for ten years. This treaty also prohibited the indiscriminate expansion of naval bases in the Pacific. Furthermore, the catastrophic destruction in the Second World War and the devastating impact of the atomic bombing in Japan again made the people worried about world peace and arms reduction. Finally, the war ended with forming up of new world body, called the United Nations, (UN). The UN General Assembly in its very first session in the year 1946 founded the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission (UNAEC) that was asked to make specific recommendations for the disarmaments.

The Disarmament after the First World War

From the proposal of the Norwegian delegation, it can be found out that the Assembly of the League of Nations took the initiative of setting up the Temporary Mixed Commission in 1920 with the aim of preparing reports and proposals so as to reduce the use of armaments. However many problems such as the competing approaches of Britain and France, occurred and hindered the negotiations toward disarmament between the two World Wars.

The League of Nations put forward the proposal to strengthen up the collective security in exchange of disarmament and thus presented the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol. In 1926, the Preparatory Commission was established, which benefited a lot from the participation of prominent non-members, including Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States. The largest international conference ever took place between February 1932 and October 1933 in which Britain, France, and the United States were seen to propose plans for disarmament. The first French proposal, the Tardieu Plan of February 1932, put forward a proposal which focused on the creation of an international police force and the abolition of offensive weapons of all kinds. A similar kind of proposal was put forward by the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald in March 1933 which was not accepted by the French at any cost. Hitler happened to withdraw Germany from both the World Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations because of the failure of the powers of the First World War to stick to their commitment of reducing weapons and armaments. This period also witnessed significant agreements in respect of the limitation of naval armaments such as the Washington Conference of 1921-22, under which around 40% under construction capital ships were scrapped totally.

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Disarmament Treaties and Agreements

With the World War efforts for disarmament growing at a steady rate, the USA put forward a proposal called as the Baruch Plan. The USSR came out with the Gromyko Plan. But both of these plans eventually failed and further led to more plans being proposed by both the sides. The USA proposed the Open Skies Plan in the year 1955 which also got rejected.

It was found that from the early 1960s the disarmament movement started to show some progress. In 1950's the USA and the USSR were placed under new administration. In the USA General Eisenhower came into power after the 1952 presidential election and in the USSR due to Stalin's death a new leadership had emerged. In addition to this, the USSR acquired the ability to make nuclear weapons. It brought the USSR closer to the nuclear power in the USA. These developments created the way to achieve some success in disarmament.

Further, an agreement was signed in 1963. It had banned the nuclear tests in the atmosphere (in outer space and under water). In 1967 another agreement was signed to establish the deployment of a nuclear weapon into space. Tlatelelco Treaty, also known as the Latin American Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, was signed in 1967, by 22 states, which bans testing, possession, deployment of nuclear weapons and requires safeguards on nuclear facilities. In 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty was signed up. The agreement prohibited the acquisition of nuclear power by non-nuclear powers. The treaty was not signed by a few countries which included India. The treaty was termed as discriminatory by India. In 1971 another agreement was brought into the world book of statute, which prohibited the deployment of nuclear weapons in sea bed. Further, the convention on banning

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the biological weapons was held in 1972. SALT-I and SALT-II were signed in 1972 and 1979 respectively. In the early 1970s, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) began between the USA and the USSR. The first SALT agreement was signed in 1972 which is a treaty that limits the stockpiling of the Antiballistic Missile systems (ABM). In 1987 the Intermediate Range Nuclear forces (INF) was signed upon between the USA and the USSR.

Further, Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty or START negotiations began in 1982. The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) II is the most recent product of the bilateral arms control effort between the United States and Russian Federation. The treaty was signed in Moscow by Presidents Bush and Boris Yeltsin in June 1993.

The conference on the prohibition of development, production, storage and use of chemical weapons and their destruction ratified the treaty at Geneva in September 1992. Commonly known as the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), the agreement was opened for signing up in 1993. When the Chemical Weapons Convention entered into force on 27 April 1997, 87 countries ratified it, which was further ratified by 161 nations by March 2004.

The UN General Assembly adopted the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on 10 September 1996. The treaty prohibits the use of any nuclear explosion be it for weapons or any sort of peaceful purposes. To date, all but three of the 44 nations (India, Pakistan and North Korea) have signed the CTBT and of the states that have signed, but not ratified the treaty, the United States and China being as the notable exceptions to it. But it is necessary for us to keep in mind that even though all these agreements did not have not made the world free from lethal weapons, but they do have signified some progress in achieving the desired goal of disarmament.

Arms Control

The arms control system is based on the assumption that the existence of weapons is not a cause but the result of conflict within the state. The arms control system wants to control the arms race with the aim of building a level of stability.

Often, one finds that arm management policies aim to negotiate barriers to development, stockpiling and the use of weapons. These policies can be broadly divided into three categories: arms reduction, arms limitation and arms freeze. Arms reduction policies seek to reduce the arms level. This is sometimes known as the partial disarmament. Arms limit policies tries to limit the magnitude and destructive power of warfare and the prevention of its accidental outbreak. Arms freeze policies aim at placing a ceiling on the growth of certain categories of arms so that rival state can feel comfortable in their military parity.

Another concept known as the nuclear strategic theory also emerged, which dominated the thinking of the superpowers during the Cold War period. It is generally believed that the having up of nuclear weapons in the world by a country

will deter an enemy from attacking that country first. The fear of suffering unacceptable damage from a world of nuclear weapons would capture the enemy. It was through this that another complicated strategic theories like the first and second-strike capability and the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) was seen to come out. This doctrine is based on the idea that it has always been found that nuclear weapons can cause indescribable damage; the rival nuclear weapons powers must deliberately open themselves for destruction which is reciprocal in such a way that this would maintain a balance of nuclear fear between the enemies from unleashing a nuclear war or holocaust on each other.

4.3.1 Locarno Pact and Kellogg Briand Pact

The famous Kellogg Briand Pact also known as the Pact of Paris (August 27, 1928) is a multilateral agreement which attempts to remove or discard war as an instrument of national policy.

In hopes of binding the United States in a series of protective alliances aimed against a possible resurgence of German aggression, the French foreign minister, Aristide Briand, first proposed a bilateral nonaggression pact in the spring of 1927. The U.S. secretary of state, Frank B. Kellogg, encouraged by the American “outlawry of war” movement and backed upon by those who were disappointed with America’s failure to join the League of Nations, suggested that the treaty or pact be transformed into a general multilateral treaty, accepted by the French. As a result of Kellogg’s proposal, almost all the nations of the world eventually enlisted in the Kellogg-Briand Pact, agreeing to leave the war as a tool of national policy and to resolve all international disputes by peaceful means.

Concept of Peace

Peace is considered as one of the highest values of life. A large number of peace ideas, proposals and programs have been prioritized so far for the fulfilment of the everlasting peace-an eternal dream of the man. Establishing suggestions, international alliances, the signing of treaties between countries and people, setting up of courts of arbitration, legal reform and many other proposals have so far been highly recommended.

India is a peace loving nation. India has a long tradition of peace and apathy in wars of any kind. Ashoka the Great dismissed the use of weapon and left the goals of war. This is one of the earliest examples of disarmament. It was in the year 1954 that India took the initiative of banning the nuclear tests. India’s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru proposed a standstill agreement in respect of the atomic tests at the U.N. although it was supported by many countries but the big superpowers didn’t show much respond to it. However, the proposal set the ball of disarmament in motion and it was the UN countries which began to speak out in support of peace and disarmament. As a result since the early 1960s new programs aimed at disarmament control began.

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Check Your Progress

3. What was the Rush-Bagot Agreement?
4. What is Tlatelelco Treaty?
5. What are the types of arm management policies?
6. What is Kellogg Briand Pact?

4.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Of the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson, five points established general ideals, eight points dealt with immediate political and territorial problems and the fourteenth point called for an association to help keep peace in the world.
2. The 'Big Four' were President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Premier Clemenceau of France who presided over the conference and Premier Orlando of Italy.
3. The Rush-Bagot Agreement was the first disarmament agreement of the modern times which has still been continuing since its signing in 1817 by the Great Britain and the USA.
4. Tlatelelco Treaty, also known as the Latin American Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, was signed in 1967, by 22 states, which bans testing, possession, deployment of nuclear weapons and requires safeguards on nuclear facilities.
5. Arm management policies can be broadly divided into three categories: arms reduction, arms limitation and arms freeze.
6. The famous Kellogg Briand Pact also known as the Pact of Paris (August 27, 1928) is a multilateral agreement which attempts to remove or discard war as an instrument of national policy.

4.5 SUMMARY

- Wilson's ideas for peace were laid out in his famous 'Fourteen Points' address to Congress on 8 January 1918. In the speech, Wilson opposed the idea of any secret treaty and suggested moderate punishment, both economically and territorially for Germany. Of the fourteen points, five points established general ideals, eight points dealt with immediate political and territorial problems and the fourteenth point called for an association to help keep peace in the world.

- Representatives from 32 allied countries and associated powers met at Paris to draw the peace settlement after the First World War. The defeated Central powers, neutral countries and Russia did not find any representation in this conference. Decision making in the conference was confined to the Allied nations alone. The most important nations in the conference were the ‘big four’ nations.
- The very first International disarmament conference was held in the year 1899 at Hague.
- After World War I broke out in 1914, the first international organization, which is called as the League of Nations was established in the year 1920 which served as a forum for discussions on the issues connected with the disarmament.
- The League of Nations put forward the proposal to strengthen up the collective security in exchange of disarmament and thus presented the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol. In 1926, the Preparatory Commission was established, which benefited a lot from the participation of prominent non-members, including Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States.
- Hitler happened to withdraw Germany from both the World Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations because of the failure of the powers of the First World War to stick to their commitment of reducing weapons and armaments.
- In the USA General Eisenhower came into power after the 1952 presidential election and in the USSR due to Stalin’s death a new leadership had emerged. In addition to this, the USSR acquired the ability to make nuclear weapons. It brought the USSR closer to the nuclear power in the USA. These developments created the way to achieve some success in disarmament.
- In 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty was signed up. The agreement prohibited the acquisition of nuclear power by non-nuclear powers. The treaty was not signed by a few countries which included India.
- In 1987 the Intermediate Range Nuclear forces (INF) was signed upon between the USA and the USSR.
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty or START negotiations began in 1982. The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) II is the most recent product of the bilateral arms control effort between the United States and Russian Federation. The treaty was signed in Moscow by Presidents Bush and Boris Yeltsin in June 1993.
- The UN General Assembly adopted the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on 10 September 1996. The treaty prohibits the use of any nuclear explosion be it for weapons or any sort of peaceful purposes.

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- Another concept known as the nuclear strategic theory also emerged, which dominated the thinking of the superpowers during the Cold War period. It is generally believed that the having up of nuclear weapons in the world by a country will deter an enemy from attacking that country first.

4.6 KEY WORDS

- **Arms Control:** It is the assumption that the existence of weapons is not a cause but the result of conflict within the state.
- **Development:** It is the process of creating something more advanced.
- **Disarmament:** It is the reduction of arms and weapons via international agreements and various treaties which is signed between two or more states.
- **Kellogg Briand Pact:** It is a multilateral agreement which attempts to remove or discard war as an instrument of national policy.
- **Treaty:** It is a written agreement between two or more countries.

4.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What is Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty?
2. Write in brief about the nuclear strategic theory.

Long Answer Questions

1. State the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson.
2. Describe various disarmament treaties and agreements.

4.8 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

UNIT 5 GERMANY AFTER FIRST WORLD WAR

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Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 German Revival and Rise of Hitler
- 5.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Key Words
- 5.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 5.7 Further Readings

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Germany was economically devastated after the aftermath of the First World War. Due to the Versailles treaty, Germany was compelled to pay incredible reparations to France and the Great Britain. Besides, the Versailles treaty, which many agreed was far too harsh, forced Germany to give up thirteen percent of its land. Initially Germany tried to recover from the war through social spending. Germany began creating transportation projects, modernization of power plants and gas works which were all used to fight against the increasing unemployment rate. Social spending was rising at an unprecedented rate. With Germany at its most vulnerable stage, Hitler took the opportunity to begin his ascent to power. In Germany, Hitler used the Jewish people as a scapegoat for all of Germany's problems. With disproportional numbers of wealthy Jewish business owners, Hitler convinced much of Germany that the Jews were to blame for the poor economic state. Hitler had two significant ideas that helped launch him in to power. He had someone to blame for the economy and he had a plan for a swift economic recovery. Hitler outlined a plan where in four years he would completely eliminate unemployment throughout Germany. Even though his plan was a plan that would not raise the level of income for the enrichment of the people but an economic plan for military strength. Hitler used an extremely detail and well-organized plan for economic revitalization. Through his method, Hitler was able to keep his promise of economic growth and begin his climb to power. Let's study more about the revival of Germany and the rise of Hitler in post First World War period.

5.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the revival of Germany after the catastrophic First World War

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- Describe the formation, nature and the problems of Weimar Republic in Germany
- Understand the reasons behind the rise of Hitler in Germany
- Illustrate the inception of the Nazi regime
- Examine the domestic policy of Hitler

5.2 GERMAN REVIVAL AND RISE OF HITLER

Kaiser William II and his military and naval officers had led Germany into the First World War with the supreme confidence that Germany would stamp out all opposition from the rivals. But in the summer of 1918, their dream was shattered when Germany's military might collapsed, and the country was forced to accept the armistice on 11 November 1918. Germany's surrender to her implacable enemies triggered off a political revolution which threatened a total collapse of the country's social and economic order.

The German people were led to believe that their country was invincible, and therefore, for four years they had cherished the dream of a great victory. Such a faith and belief had made them endure the hardships of the Allied blockade of Germany. But by the second half of 1918, these hopes had grown dim; and with the armistice they were dashed to the ground. The War had brought nothing but economic and political disaster to the proud nation. The military defeat, together with starvation, cynicism, frustration and despair made many German receptive to the revolutionary ideas coming from Bolshevik Russia.

By the end of 1918, discontent mounted. The Social Democratic Party—the main opposition political party—took advantage of the difficulties of the government and increased its strength. The Social Democrats believed in the idealistic pronouncements of President Woodrow Wilson of the US that the Allies would treat the enemy countries with due consideration if the War ceased at once. The President also announced that after the war 'there would be no victors or losers'. His Fourteen-Point Peace Programme, together with his repeated declaration of 'peace with honour', persuaded the German Government to ceasefire. Under the combined influence of the breakdown of German military machine, the miseries that the German people had to suffer and the intoxicating effects of the Russian Revolution, turned the German people against Kaiser William II, who had led them into an unnecessary and disastrous war.

The Kiel Naval Mutiny

The first signs of the revolt came from Kiel on 23 October 1918, when the sailors took matters into their own hands and a naval mutiny took place. It was soon followed by an uprising in Bavaria, and strike in the factories of Berlin. As in Russia and in Italy, the then existing government of Kaiser William II fell when he abdicated the throne on 9 November 1918, and Prince Max of Baden became the Chancellor. He announced new reforms but the flood gates of the revolution

had already been opened which swept away the promises of superficial reforms. All over Germany, the revolution made its way compelling the Kaiser to flee to Holland.

Formation of the Weimar Republic

Prince Max appeared to the Allied powers for an armistice on the ground that the new German Government was truly representative of the people. But Wilson rejected the request on the ground that as long as the German policy was in the hands of the Kaiser's former ministers, there could be no negotiation. Amidst such conditions, the government of Prince Max was compelled to resign. A Council of People's Commissars was given authority to sign the armistice on 10 November 1918. This Council was composed of Socialists. However, everywhere 'workers and soldiers' councils created numerous difficulties for the government. The Spartacist or Communist Party organized street fighting, with the intention of displacing the government of the Socialists by a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. The Spartacist plan for revolution proved abortive when its leaders, Kari Liebknecht and Roas Luxemburg were murdered in January 1919.

On 19 January 1919, general elections were held, and on 6 February the National Assembly met at Weimar to frame a Republican Constitution. In the elections, the Socialists failed to secure a majority, compelling them to form a coalition with the help of the bourgeois parties, with Herr Ebert as the President. It was this government which was called upon to sign the fateful Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Nature of the Weimar Republic

The nature of the Weimar Republic has been discussed below.

(I) Lack of popular support

The Weimar Republic was born under very unfavourable circumstances. The harsh and humiliating terms of the Treaty, accepted by the Weimar Republic, aroused the hatred and dislike of the Nationalist Germans. The mounting problems of unemployment, the collapse of the economy, and the resulting social unrest made the effective function of the government difficult.

The Rightists in Germany looked upon the Weimar Republican regime as "an implantation by the enemy", and hence a symbol of Germany's humiliation. In a sense, it was imposed on the German people by the victorious Allied Powers. Since it commanded little loyalty, the existence of the Republic was precarious. Even in 1920, all the elements that were later to combine to destroy the 'new democracy' were present in the form of frustrated militarism and disgruntled patriotism.

(II) Completely democratic paper constitution

The Weimar Republic, according to David Thomson, was 'one of the most completely democratic paper Constitutions ever written'. The salient features were as follows:

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- The doctrine of ‘sovereignty of the people’, organized as a single national unity.
- Guarantees of several fundamental rights to the citizens, including the right to equality before the law, civil liberties, separation of religion from politics, economic freedom, trade union rights, and so on.
- Continuance of the federal form of the Second Reich (Empire) of 1871, but with reduced powers of the states. Powers of the central government were broadened.
- The authority of the central government was entrusted jointly to a Lower House (Reichstag), representing the people, and the ‘Upper House (Reichsrat), representing the states.
- Executive authority of the Republic was vested in a President, elected for a period of seven years, and in a Chancellor and his Council of Ministers, responsible to the Lower House. The President could select and dismiss the Chancellor.
- Article 48 of the Constitution empowered the President to take over executive power into his own hands, and rule by decree in the event of disruption of threat to public security and order.

Despite the above mentioned laudable democratic characteristics of the Weimar Constitution, there were strong anti-democratic trends in it. For instance:

- Much of the old social and economic order survived almost intact in the judiciary and bureaucracy, and above all in the military hierarchy.
- The big landowners and industrial combinations, who were the main props of absolutism, remained intact. Attempts at integrating the two into a new set-up came to nothing.
- The new democratic regime commanded little national loyalty; it was condemned as “having been delivered in the baggage of the Allies”. It is not an exaggeration to say that the new democracy was super-imposed upon a social order that had changed little.

Problems of the Weimar Republic

The problems of the Weimar Republic are as follows:

- (i) Extremist nationalist sentiment:** Post-World War, Germany was essentially a dejected, humiliated and angry nation. The people shared the common sentiment of an overriding and universal resentment against defeat, against the Treaty of Versailles, and against the Allies. The Germans held them responsible for their country’s humiliation. Since the Weimar Republic was set up to satisfy the Allied pre-condition for peace, a sizeable section among the Germans looked upon it as a symbol of the country’s humiliation.
- (ii) Absence of a strong desire for liberty and democracy:** Historians have pointed out that the establishment of the Weimar Republic was not the

result of the victory of a German Republican Political Party over the monarchists. The German had never agitated for liberty and democracy, though during the French Revolution of 1789, they did feel the influence of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. In 1918, there had been little demand for a change of government. It was only the insistence of Woodrow Wilson that he would not deal with a regime that had brought on the War that made the non-monarchists demand the abdication of Kaiser William II. They did it in the belief that it would help the country to obtain better peace terms. Therefore, many Germans would not accept the new form government.

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Attempts to Overthrow the Republic

There were two attempts to overthrow the Weimar Republic.

(i) The Kapp Putsch

The new German Republic was compelled to fight for its existence Early in 1920, Wolfgang Kapp led a monarchist coup d'état. But President Ebert was able to stop it with the help of the workers' general strike. Kapp fled the country. The ultranationalist counter-revolution is known as the "Kapp Putsch". Although the attempt to overthrow the Weimar-Republic failed, it led in Bavaria to the formation of a Right-wing coalition government that paved the way for another attempt against the Republic.

(ii) The Beer-Hall Putsch

In 1923, Adolph Hitler and his associates, with the blessings of Field Marshal Ludendorff, a hero of the First World War, attempted to stage a coup with the intention of capturing power in Munich. In this counter-revolutionary attempt, Hitler had the tacit support of the Right-wing Bavarian government. But the Beer- Hall Putsch (8-9 November 1923) was a complete failure. One of the leaders of the coup was killed, and the rest of the group was imprisoned. One of the important factors for the failure of the Communist rising of 1918-19 and the two Right-wing "Putsch" was the support of the army that the government enjoyed. But left to government alone, there was little chance of its survival because of the failure of the political machinery and the social chaos in the country. The Republic also received support of the Socialists, Catholic Centrists, Democrats, and of the People's Party of Gustav Stresemann. For the next 10 years, it seemed as if the Republic was growing in strength, surmounting all social, economic and political crises, particularly when Stresemann was the Chancellor of Germany from 1925-29.

The Rise of Hitler

The travails of the Weimar Republic were the opportunities of the Nazis. While the Liberals and Socialists failed to face the problems which beset Germany from 1918 to 1933, the Nazis and their leader, Hitler, made the best use of the opportunities to discredit them and other political parties. The severity of the peace

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terms, which led to the occupation of the Ruhr by the French forces, inflation and prolonged economic distress, and the Great Depression made the republican government unpopular. Following the economic crisis of 1929-30, the National Socialists (Nazis) made spectacular gains and came to power in 1933.

Adolph Hitler was born in 1889, and brought up in the German-speaking part of the former Austrian Empire. The son of a petty-customs official, his early life was unhappy and maladjusted, and he grew to be rebellious and indisciplined from his childhood. He also became a convert to extreme Nordicism, i.e., the idea about superiority of the Nordic race to which the Germans are supposed to belong. He despised Austria for its racial integrity since it contained both the “Germans and the slaves”.

Hitler though an Austrian citizen was living in Vienna, and enlisted himself in the Bavarian army. During the next four years, the young Hitler found a purpose in the discipline of war. He fought with distinction and won the Iron Cross and a promotion as Corporal. He was wounded and twice suffered from poisonous gas. The War ended when he was recuperating in a hospital, in November 1918. Germany's defeat, he was convinced, was due to the betrayal of the army by the enemies of Germany. He accused the aliens and enemies within, namely the Bolshevik revolutionaries and the Jews, respectively, as having sapped Germany's will to fight and turned a fanatic nationalist. Even before the armistice, Hitler resolved to become a politician and carry on a relentless struggle against his own and his Fatherland's enemies. Hitler joined, and soon became the leader, a small ultra-nationalist political party, based in Munich. It was called the National Socialist German Workers' Party i.e., Nazi Party. According to E.M. Burns, the Party adopted the famous programme of 25 points, drawn up in 1920 by Gottfried Fedder. Among the 25 items, the following were the most significant:

- Abrogation of the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain
- The elimination of Jews as citizens
- Abolition of the parliamentary system
- Abolition of all income “acquired without work or trouble”
- Complete confiscation of war profits
- Nationalization of all trusts
- Distribution of the profits of large industries
- The creation of a strong central authority
- Socialistic measures such as abolition of speculation, usury, profiteering, increased old age benefits, assistance to mothers and children, and so on
- The creation of a strong central authority
- Socialistic measures such as abolition of speculation, usury, profiteering, increased old age benefits, assistance to mothers and children and so on

Many of these items were incorporated in the Nazi programme. The Nazis adopted the inverted black Swastika (on a white circle on their flag in blood red colour).

The Nazi Organization

The Nazi Party was created by Hitler to embody the nation's political will. It was shaped in such a way that it would take precedence over the government under the slogan, "the party rules the State". The Party was provided with its own private army, the brown shirted *Sturmabteilung (SA)*. The SA was entrusted with more or less the kind of work Mussolini had entrusted to his black shirted commandos. In 1926, he established the black shirted *Sehuts Staffel* (picked Heel guards, SS or Black Guard), to protect the top leaders of the party. Similarly, Hitler also organized the "Hitler Youth", the "Nazi German Student League", the "Nazi Teachers' League", the "Nazi Women's League", and the "Nazi Physicians League".

Hitler had the knack of attracting the best talent available and utilizing it with maximum efficiency. Like the Fascists, the Nazi, also believed in complete obedience to one leader. Hitler was the leader or the Fuehrer. By 1928, the Fuehrer was in control of a party of 100,000 members, who were willing to do or die for the Party and its Leader.

Causes of the rise of Hitler to Power

Several factors contributed to the rise of Hitler and his Nazi Party to power in 1935. Among the causes, Hitler's personality and leadership was the dominant factor. Though historians have emphasized the following as the most important ones:

- (i) **Defeat in the First World War:** The ultra-nationalists quickly spread the legend that the nation had been "stabbed in the back" by Socialists and Jews in the government. This sort of propaganda, though baseless, was effectively made use of by Hitler and his followers to win support of the German people by promising revenge against the perpetrators of this crime.
- (ii) **The Treaty of Versailles:** It was believed by the Germans that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were severe and humiliating, and their feelings grew embittered towards the Allied Powers. Therefore, they were willing to follow any leader or party who raised the banner of defiance against the terms of the Treaty. Hitler and his colleagues, being masters of propaganda, kept alive the bitter memory of Versailles and promised to tear the Treaty to pieces. They denounced every government which adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Western powers as "traitors". The Nazis repudiated the payment of reparations. Their line of propaganda, appealing more to emotion than reason, helped them to pose as super-patriots.
- (iii) **The inflation of 1923:** By 1923, Germany was facing runaway inflation as a result mainly of the invasion and occupation of the Ruhr valley by the French in January 1923. The German mark lost its value. Both farmers and

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workers suffered the most. The lower middle class and the poor found themselves in a miserable condition. The economic crisis of 1923 had a powerful effect in stirring discontent among the poorer sections of the German. The Nazis made full use of the government's failure to tackle the problem to discredit it. They also used the crisis to frighten the industrialists, landowners and property-owning classes by pointing out the consequences of the social unrest arising from the inflationary conditions.

- (iv) **The growth of Communism:** The growth of Communism was an important factor in the growth of Nazism. Under the conditions prevailing during the early 1920s, the extremists of the Left kept pace with the extremists of the Right which was reflected in the election results. As the Communist influence increased, anxiety and fears of the well-to-do-properly owing classes were also intensified. Since they abhorred the Bolshevik experience in Russia, they were prepared to go to any length to prevent the repetition of the experience in Germany. The widespread fear of a Communist revolution was made full use of by the Nazis to consolidate their strength. Their slogan was, "If the National socialist Party collapses, there will be another 10 million Communists in Germany". This fear of the Communists continued to be exploited by them even after coming to power in 1933 to retain the financial and political support of the anti-Communist sections of the German people.
- (v) **Influence of militarism:** Germany had always been a military state, right from the days of Frederick the Great of Prussia, the Germans were imbued with the traditions of discipline and order. For many German nationalists, the army was the symbol of not only national security but also of national greatness. The qualities of military life such as obedience and regimentation were accepted as virtues most dear to German. Therefore, several Germans were disturbed by what they thought as laxity and irresponsibility of the Republican regime. They hated the immoral and frivolous life of the city of Berlin which they associated with Liberalism and Democracy.
- (vi) **Growing economic unrest:** Although under the leadership of Stresemann, the economic situation of Germany was showing a definite improvement, the Nazis exploited with great success the dissatisfaction among diverse sections of the Germans. They worked upon the anti-capitalist feelings of the lower middle class composed of peasants and small traders, who felt that the capitalists were making lavish profits. The Nazis assured this class protection against capitalist exploitation. They assured farmers subsidies since they had been burdened with debts. Likewise, the small shopkeepers were assured of relief against stiff competition of the large stores. Likewise, the Nazis also won the support of the victims of an inflated currency and depressed standard of living. They enlisted the support of the large number of unemployed by promising to wipe out unemployment, particularly after the Great Depression of 1929.

- (vii) **Nazi propaganda of anti-Semitism:** The Nazis appealed to the emotions of the Germans by advocating a policy of Anti-Semitism. Through their effective propaganda machine, they made several Germans believe that it was the Jews who had brought all the misfortunes to Germany. Through their irrational racial policy, they painted the Jews as an inferior and immoral people not worthy of consideration as civilized. They made the Jews the scapegoat for all the problems Germany was facing. The Nazis told the people that if they came to power, the Jews would be made to pay for their disloyalty to Germany and their uncivilized behaviour. This won them support of a considerable number of Germans.
- (viii) **Nazi party's terror tactics:** The Nazis provided an outlet for the military leaning of the German youth by instituting armed forces of their own such as the SA, SS and the Youth Leagues. The youth organizations were used for intimidating and silencing their political opponents and to terrorize them. The Nazi youth clubs were entrusted with the task of protecting Nazi meetings and Nazi leaders, and for disturbing and breaking meetings of their political opponents. Thus, the Nazis could easily drive fear into the hearts of all political opponents and liquidate them.

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Totalitarianism and Nazism

Like the Italian Fascists, the Nazis were blind worshippers of the State. They believed that the State had a “super personality” and that the “great happiness of the individual lay in obeying the State implicitly and working for its greatness”. They cherished the ideal of a powerful military State, ruled by one single party, owing allegiance to one supreme leader, the Fuehrer. The Nazis reposed full faith in the Fuehrer and elevated him to the position of a God. Hitler, in their eyes, was the embodiment of all virtues and through him the German nationality, State and all political process got fused into one. He was regarded as infallible and his word was obeyed as a law of the State. Duty, discipline and sacrifices were the sacraments of every German citizen.

The Nazis looked upon the State as a super-personality in which the individual lived a subordinate existence. But all Germans were collectively referred to as “the Volk”, i.e., the community. According to their ideology, their Party was a link between the State and the Volk, so as to work for the betterment of the Germans. Moreover, they believed in German cultural exclusiveness. They stood for the purity of German language, German race and German literature. Their ideal may be stated as “Germany for Germans only”. There was no place in the Nazi doctrine for Liberalism, Democracy, Socialism, Individuals’ rights and liberties. They had a pathological hatred of Communism. Besides, they rejected pacifism, Christian moral values and the Rule of Law.

Glorification of War by the Nazis

The Nazis were extreme nationalists. They glorified war and emphasized Germany’s territorial expansion by means of war. In fact, Hitler believed in violence as the

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only instrument of national policy, and this he stated unambiguously in his book *Mein Kampf*. Therefore, once in power, the Nazis sought to achieve the following through their foreign policy:

- (i) **Lebensraum:** Nazis needed territories in Eastern Europe, including Russia, to provide a “living space” or Lebensraum for the German race. Hitler visualized a great German Reich, comprising all Germans in Europe.
- (ii) **Conquest of Russia:** The Nazis anticipated the collapse of the Bolshevik Regime in Russia. Once this happened, they hoped to win new territories through ‘the might of a victorious sword’. According to Hitler, if we speak today of new territory in Europe, we can primarily think only of Russia and the border states.
- (iii) **Conquest of France:** Hitler believed that attack on Russia should precede the defeat of France because France would not stand idle while Germany was increasing her strength at the expense of Russia. The *Mein Kampf* expressed a deep-seated antagonism: “France is the eternal and mortal enemy of the German nation”.
- (iv) **Establishment of German Empire as Fatherland:** Hitler and his Party wanted to acquire territories with a view to making Germany a world power. However, they were not interested in overseas colonies where, according to them, inferior races lived. Further, they wanted the new territories to be connected with the German Fatherland.
- (v) **Overthrow of the Treaty of Versailles:** Above all, the Nazis were committed to the overthrow of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, and to restore Germany to her pre-First World War position.

Policies of Hitler

The two main developments in the Nazi domestic policy are discussed below.

- (i) **Repressive measures against Opposition:** On his appointment as the Chancellor of the Weimar Republic of Germany, Hitler had sworn to maintain and uphold the Weimar Constitution. During the early months in office, he deceived President Hindenburg into believing that the new Chancellor could be used by him and other politicians for their own ends; but within a few months, he demonstrated that he was nobody’s fool. He called for elections with a view to improve his party’s prospects as the ruling Party. Simultaneously, Hitler ordered Goebbels and his propaganda machinery and Herman Goering’s SA and SS to discredit and terrorize the opposition parties. On the night of 27 February 1933, the *Reichstag* building was set on fire for which Hitler blamed the Communists (though it has been alleged that this criminal act was committed by the Nazis themselves). Claiming that a Communist revolution was at hand, he persuaded Hindenburg to proclaim a state of emergency.

- (ii) **The Enabling Act, 1933:** The State and Nazi terrorism and vicious propaganda of Goebbels ensured the greatest electoral victory of the Nazis on March 1933, with 288 seats. Despite Nazi terror, a majority of voters of the German electorate (20 million) voted for other parties. Consequently, the election of 1933 became the last genuine election in Nazi Germany. All opposition was suppressed, and Hitler got an Act, known as the Enabling Act passed by the Reichstag. It gave him the power to make his own laws. With the passage of this Act, whatever little life was left in German democracy was killed. The Weimar Republic was dead, and the Third Reich was born amidst terror, persecution and witch-hunt. From then onwards, until the overthrow of the Nazi rule in 1945, Germany remained a preserve of the totalitarian Nazi regime, dominated by Adolf Hitler.

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Main Features of the Domestic Policy of Hitler

The following were the main features of Hitler's domestic policy:

- (i) **The Government:** The Nazis transformed Germany into a Fascist dictatorship of the extreme type. As Der Fuehrer (the Leader), Hitler exercised supreme power over the Third Reich and the German society. The Reichstag was frequently summoned but it acted as a mere rubber stamp for the Nazi administration and applauded and approved Hitler's dictations. All political parties, except the Nazi party, were banned.
- (ii) **Political Life:** The Nazis permitted elections to the *Reichstag* but limited the choice to a 'yes-no-vote' on a single list of Nazi-selected candidates. The Gestapo (secret police), brutally suppressed all Opposition, whether Democratic, Liberal, Socialist, Communist, Catholic, Jew, or Protestant. They were made to suffer unbelievable torture and often death in the concentration camps. The individual in the Third Reich was deprived of human dignity and civil liberties as well as political rights. By extending government control over every aspect of human activity, the Nazis established a totalitarian State.
- (iii) **Propaganda:** Under Joseph Goebbels, the Ministry of Propaganda utilized all media of information and education for brainwashing both the German nation and the outside world to believe that the Nazi system of government was the best and Hitler was the most dynamic statesman of Europe. The Nazi propaganda operated on the theory that any lie, if enthusiastically stated, repeated continuously, and guarded from critical analysis, would eventually be accepted as truth by most people. Their propaganda promised all things to all men.
- (iv) **Education:** In Nazi Germany, education was converted into a very effective instrument of instilling blind obedience to the Fuehrer and worship of the State. Education was promoted at all levels but only the members of the Nazi party were allowed to teach. The course of study was tailored to

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foster Nazi ideology and the interests of the Nazis. At high school level, a course in chemistry including the making of poison gas. In Mathematics, students were taught how to calculate bombing distances, likewise in the Social Studies, the stress was upon the evils of democracy, and the “superiority of the Aryan race”. By manipulating the system of education, they sought to instil into the rising generation a spirit of “race fanaticism”. All liberal thoughts and ideas were excluded from educational institutions. Professors and teachers not following the Nazi line of propaganda were severely dealt with.

- (v) **Science and Culture:** The Nazis made use of science and culture to serve the ends of the totalitarian military state. Scientists were put on the work of developing weapons of the war. Anthropologists were instructed to prove the racial superiority of the Aryans over others. Writers were made to extol the virtues of Hitler and the Nazis. Strict censorship ensured that the German people got nothing to read or listen to anything which the Nazis did not approve. Ant-Nazi works were burnt in public ceremonies. The reading of work or performances of persons of Jewish origin such as the poetry of Heine and Music of *Mendelssohn*, were banned. The Nazification of culture involved putting the Universities, colleges, schools, stage and cinema into what is called “a Nazi straight jacket”.
- (vi) **Religion:** The Nazis opposed Christianity and denounced Jesus Christ for being an Asiatic Jew. Yet Hitler tried to enlist the support of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Germany in order to remain in power. Since Nazis preached violence and propagated the idea of “Master Race”, their ideology conflicted with the Christian concepts of love and brotherhood. Hence, they sought to control Christianity. The Nazi officials brought the activities of the Protestant Church under their control. Those priests who refused to cooperate with the Nazis were sent to concentration camps for hard labour, and possibly to die. “The Nazis also tried to weaken the Roman Catholic Church by discouraging attendance in Church schools. Many priests and nuns were arrested and persecuted on various trumped-up charges. The cumulative result of the persecution of religion was that the Nazis found themselves opposed by the three great religions of the West, namely Judaism Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches.
- (vii) **Anti-Semitism:** The Nazis followed an inhuman policy of repression and persecution towards the Jews. Calling them the polluters of culture, responsible for all the ills the German nation was suffering from and they inflicted the following sufferings on them:
- The Jews were deprived of German citizenship.
 - Their Synagogues (places of worship) were burnt down.
 - They were removed from their jobs, homes, and denied permission to do business.

- The SS subjected Jews to physical violence of the worst kind.
- A large number of Jews were sent to concentration camps where they were forced to do extremely hard labour. They were tortured and starved, and many were made to die in gas chambers.
- During the Second World War, Jews in the territories occupied by the Nazis were subjected to tortures, persecution and indignities of all sorts.
- The Nazi Government constructed special gas chambers to exterminate the Jews. It is estimated that more than six million men, women and children perished in this barbaric and dastardly policy of anti-Semitism.

(viii) **Policy towards Youth and Women:** The Nazis recruited young German as members. Hence, they set up a number of youth clubs, gymnasia, organized sports and youth festivals to attract them to Nazism. While enforcing discipline, the Nazis emphasized physical fitness and development of strong bodies, to prepare them for any violent and dangerous adventure in the name of patriotism. Women, however, were accorded an inferior position. They were excluded from politics and were ordered to devote themselves to kitchen-work and child-learning. Hitler wanted an increase in the healthy German population in order to mould it in Nazi ideas and draft into the Nazi armed forces.

One of the very first laws that Hitler introduced was the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage. Women were not expected to work in Nazi Germany. By 1939, approximately 1% of all women worked full time. However, problems arose by taking all the women out of the work force; there was a shortage of people with skills in Germany. Therefore, in the year that the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage was abolished, Nazi Germany passed a new law called the Duty Year. This meant that women could work in factories, big business, etc., to help the economy.

(ix) **Nazi economic policy:** Hitler had climbed to power by promising the German people economic stability and prosperity. Once in power, his government directed its economic policy towards providing Germany with a strong economic base which could also serve as the base of his proposed military State. With this view, his government took several measures:

- They put down all labour unrest and prohibited unions-activities by non-Nazi elements.
- The government determined wages, hours of work and working conditions of the workers in industry.
- They successfully eliminated unemployment by denying employment to non-Germans (particularly Jews) and unmarried women, expanding public works, etc.
- The government greatly increased the production of armaments, thus providing employment to many in armament factories.

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- The German armed forces were enlarged, introducing conscription. This measure, helped to reduce unemployment.
 - They refused foreign interest-bearing loans, and based currency on production instead of gold.
 - They obtained imports by direct exchange of goods barter and subsidized exports whenever they felt was necessary.
 - They put a stop to what was called ‘freedom of the exchanges,’ i.e., license to gamble in currencies and shift private fortunes from one currency to another according to the political situation.
 - They created money when men and material were available for work instead of running into debt by borrowing it.
 - The government banned the introduction of labour saving machinery.
 - Employers had to get government permission before reducing their labour force.
 - The Nazi government gave work contracts to those companies that relied on manual labour rather than machines. This was especially true of the government’s massive autobahn (motorway) programme.
 - Youth unemployment was dealt with by the forming of the Voluntary Labour Service (VLS) and the Voluntary Youth Service (VYS), these planted forests, repaired river banks and helped reclaim wasteland.
 - Women in certain professions such as doctors and civil servants were dismissed, while other married women were paid a lump sum of 1000 marks to stay at home.
 - In the summer of 1935, Adolf Hitler announced the introduction of Labour Service (RAD). Under this measure all men aged between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five had to work for the government for six months. Later, women were also included in the scheme and they did work such as teaching and domestic service.
 - Financial reforms: The Nazi Government permitted private ownership of industry but subject to State regulations. It controlled the process of production, profits, capital investment, foreign trade and banking, and other financial operations. The credit for Nazi Germany’s spectacular economic performance should go to Hjalmar Schacht, “Hitler’s financial wizard”.
- (x) **Planning and Autarchy:** In 1936, Herman Goering headed the Planning Commission which prepared the four-year plan. He sought economic self sufficiency (autarchy) in the economy. The main aim of the planning was to prepare Germany for a war with her enemies as well as translate their dream of Lebensraum into reality. Therefore, the Nazis gave priority to production of armaments. Their slogan was, “guns, not butter”. The Government aimed

at producing all materials needed by Germany “by German ability, by German chemistry, by German machines and by German mining industry”.

Within the first five years, Hitler government achieved remarkable success in regenerating the country’s economy. A large number of workers were employed in the armament factories or were drafted in the armed forces, disregarding the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919. The programme of autarchy (self-sufficiency) was a success. At a time when the democratic countries like the US, Britain and France were struggling in the 1930s to overcome the ill-effect of the Great Depression, Hitler’s Germany was making rapid and even miraculous economic progress. Of course, this could be done because of the totalitarian control over every aspect of the society as was being done in Joseph Stalin’s Russia during the same period.

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Check Your Progress

1. What threatened a total collapse of Germany’s social and economic order?
2. What is ‘Kapp Putsch’?
3. Define Nordicism.
4. Which symbol did the Nazis adopt?

5.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Germany’s surrender to her implacable enemies triggered off a political revolution which threatened a total collapse of the country’s social and economic order.
2. The new German Republic was compelled to fight for its existence Early in 1920, Wolfgang Kapp led a monarchist coup d’état. But President Ebert was able to stop it with the help of the workers’ general strike. Kapp fled the country. The ultranationalist counter-revolution is known as the “Kapp Putsch”.
3. Nordicism is the idea about superiority of the Nordic race to which the German are supposed to belong.
4. The Nazis adopted the inverted black Swastika (on a white circle on their flag in blood red colour).

5.4 SUMMARY

- In the summer of 1918, Kaiser William II and his military and naval officers’ dream was shattered when Germany’s military might collapsed, and the country was forced to accept the armistice on 11 November 1918.

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Germany's surrender to her implacable enemies triggered off a political revolution which threatened a total collapse of the country's social and economic order.

- The Social Democratic Party—the main opposition political party—took advantage of the difficulties of the government and increased its strength. The Social Democrats believed in the idealistic pronouncements of President Woodrow Wilson of the US that the Allies would treat the enemy countries with due consideration if the War ceased at once.
- Under the combined influence of the breakdown of German military machine, the miseries that the German people had to suffer and the intoxicating effects of the Russian Revolution, turned the German people against Kaiser William II, who had led them into an unnecessary and disastrous war.
- On 19 January 1919, general elections were held, and on 6 February the National Assembly met at Weimar to frame a Republican Constitution. In the elections, the Socialists failed to secure a majority, compelling them to form a coalition with the help of the bourgeois parties, with Herr Ebert as the President. It was this government which was called upon to sign the fateful Treaty of Versailles in 1919.
- The Weimar Republic, according to David Thomson, was 'one of the most completely democratic paper Constitutions ever written'. Executive authority of the Republic was vested in a President, elected for a period of seven years, and in a Chancellor and his Council of Ministers, responsible to the Lower House. The President could select and dismiss the Chancellor.
- Historians have pointed out that the establishment of the Weimar Republic was not the result of the victory of a German Republican Political Party over the monarchists. It was only the insistence of Woodrow Wilson that he would not deal with a regime that had brought on the War that made the non-monarchists demand the abdication of Kaiser William II. They did it in the belief that it would help the country to obtain better peace terms. Therefore, many Germans would not accept the new form of government.
- In 1923, Adolph Hitler and his associates attempted to stage a coup with the intention of capturing power in Munich. The Beer-Hall Putsch (8-9 November 1923) was a complete failure. One of the important factors for the failure of the Communist rising of 1918-19 and the two Right-wing "Putsch" was the support of the army that the government enjoyed.
- The travails of the Weimar Republic were the opportunities of the Nazis. While the Liberals and Socialists failed to face the problems which beset Germany from 1918 to 1933, the Nazis and their leader, Hitler, made the best use of the opportunities to discredit them and other political parties. Following the economic crisis of 1929-30, the National Socialists (Nazis) made spectacular gains and came to power in 1933.

- Adolph Hitler was born in 1889, and brought up in the German-speaking part of the former Austrian Empire. His early life was unhappy and maladjusted, and he grew to be rebellious and indisciplined from his childhood. He also became a convert to extreme Nordicism, i.e., the idea about superiority of the Nordic race to which he German supposed to belong.
- Germany's defeat, Hitler was convinced, was due to the betrayal of the army by the enemies of Germany. He accused the aliens and enemies within, namely the Bolshevik revolutionaries and the Jews, respectively, as having sapped Germany's will to fight and turned a fanatic nationalist.
- Hitler joined, and soon became the leader, a small ultra-nationalist political party, based in Munich. It was called the National Socialist German Workers' Party i.e., Nazi Party. According to E.M. Burns, the Party adopted the famous programme of 25 points, drawn up in 1920 by Gottfried Fedder.
- The Nazis adopted the inverted black Swastika (on a white circle on their flag in blood red colour).
- The Nazi Party was created by Hitler to embody the nation's political will. It was shaped in such a way that it would take precedence over the government under the slogan, "the party rules the State". The Party was provided with its own private army, the brown shirted *Sturmabteilung (SA)*.
- Hitler also organized the "Hitler Youth", the "Nazi German Student League", the "Nazi Teachers' League", the "Nazi Women's League", and the "Nazi Physicians League".
- Historians have emphasized the following as the most important factors leading to the rise of Hitler to power:
 - (i) Defeat in the First World War
 - (ii) The Treaty of Versailles
 - (iii) The inflation of 1923
 - (iv) The growth of Communism
 - (v) Influence of militarism
 - (vi) Growing economic unrest
 - (vii) Nazi propaganda of anti-Semitism
 - (viii) Nazi party's terror tactics
- The economic crisis of 1923 had a powerful effect in stirring discontent among the poorer sections of the German. The Nazis made full use of the government's failure to tackle the problem to discredit it. They also used the crisis to frighten the industrialists, landowners and property-owning classes by pointing out the consequences of the social unrest arising from the inflationary conditions.

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- Nazis worked upon the anti-capitalist feelings of the lower middle class composed of peasants and small traders. They assured this class protection against capitalist exploitation. They assured farmers subsidies since they had been burdened with debts. Likewise, the small shopkeepers were assured of relief against stiff competition of the large stores. Likewise, the Nazis also won the support of the victims of an inflated currency and depressed standard of living.
- The Nazis appealed to the emotions of the Germans by advocating a policy of Anti-Semitism. They made several Germans believe that it was the Jews who had brought all the misfortunes to Germany. Through their irrational racial policy, they painted the Jews as an inferior and immoral people not worthy of consideration as civilized. They made the Jews the scapegoat for all the problems Germany was facing. The Nazis told the people that if they came to power, the Jews would be made to pay for their disloyalty to Germany and their uncivilized behaviour. This won them support of a considerable number of Germans.
- Hitler believed that attack on Russia should precede the defeat of France because France would not stand idle while Germany was increasing her strength at the expense of Russia. The Mein Kamp expressed a deep-seated antagonism: “France is the eternal and mortal enemy of the German nation”.
- The Nazis were committed to the overthrow of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, and to restore Germany to her pre-First World War position.
- Hitler ordered Goebbels and his propaganda machinery and Herman Goering’s SA and SS to discredit and terrorize the opposition parties. On the night of 27 February 1933, the *Reichstag* building was set on fire for which Hitler blamed the Communists. Claiming that a Communist revolution was at hand, he persuaded President Hindenburg to proclaim a state of emergency.
- The State and Nazi terrorism and vicious propaganda of Goebbels ensured the greatest electoral victory of the Nazis on March 1933, with 288 seats. All opposition was suppressed, and Hitler got an Act, known as the Enabling Act passed by the Reichstag. It gave him the power to make his own laws.
- Education was promoted at all levels but only the members of the Nazi party were allowed to teach. The course of study was tailored to foster Nazi ideology and the interests of the Nazis. At high school level, a course in chemistry including the making of poison gas. In Mathematics, students were taught how to calculate bombing distances, likewise in the Social Studies, the stress was upon the evils of democracy, and the “superiority of the Aryan race”.
- Scientists were put on the work of developing weapons of the war. Anthropologists were instructed to prove the racial superiority of the Aryans over others. Writers were made to extol the virtues of Hitler and the Nazis.

The Nazification of culture involved putting the Universities, colleges, schools, stage and cinema into what is called “a Nazi straight jacket”.

- The Nazi officials brought the activities of the Protestant Church under their control. Those priests who refused to cooperate with the Nazis were sent to concentration camps for hard labour, and possibly to die. “The Nazis also tried to weaken the Roman Catholic Church by discouraging attendance in Church schools. Many priests and nuns were arrested and persecuted on various trumped-up charges.
- The Nazi Government constructed special gas chambers to exterminate the Jews. It is estimated that more than six million men, women and children perished in this barbaric and dastardly policy of anti-Semitism.
- One of the very first laws that Hitler introduced was the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage. Women were not expected to work in Nazi Germany. However, problems arose by taking all the women out of the work force; there was a shortage of people with skills in Germany. Therefore, in the year that the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage was abolished, Nazi Germany passed a new law called the Duty Year. This meant that women could work in factories, big business, etc., to help the economy.
- In the summer of 1935, Adolf Hitler announced the introduction of Labour Service (RAD). Under this measure all men aged between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five had to work for the government for six months. Later, women were also included in the scheme and they did work such as teaching and domestic service.
- The credit for Nazi Germany’s spectacular economic performance should go to Hjalmar Schacht, “Hitler’s financial wizard”.
- The programme of autarchy (self-sufficiency) was a success. At a time when the democratic countries like the US, Britain and France were struggling in the 1930s to overcome the ill-effect of the Great Depression, Hitler’s Germany was making rapid and even miraculous economic progress. Of course, this could be done because of the totalitarian control over every aspect of the society as was being done in Joseph Stalin’s Russia during the same period.

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5.5 KEY WORDS

- **Nordicism:** It refers to the doctrine of or belief in the cultural and racial supremacy of the Nordic people.
- **Communism:** It is theory or system of social organization in which all property is owned by the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs.
- **Fascist:** It refers to a person who is extremely right-wing or authoritarian.
- **Fuehrer:** It refers to a tyrannical leader.

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- **Anti-Semitism:** It is the hostility to or prejudice against Jewish people.
- **Totalitarianism:** It is system of government that is centralized and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state.
- **Antagonism:** It is the active hostility or opposition.
- **Reich:** It is the former German state, most often used to refer to the Third Reich, the Nazi regime from 1933 to 1945. The First Reich was considered to be the Holy Roman Empire, 962–1806, and the Second Reich the German Empire, 1871–1918, but neither of these terms is part of normal historical terminology.
- **Fanaticism:** It is a belief or behavior involving uncritical zeal or an obsessive enthusiasm.

5.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What was Kiel Naval Mutiny?
2. Write a short note on the attempts made to overthrow the Weimar Republic.
3. Which were the most significant points among the 25 points of the programme adopted by the Nazi Party?
4. What was the Nazi organization?
5. What was the Nazis' policy of Anti-Semitism?
6. What was the Enabling Act, 1933?
7. What was the state of education in Hitler's domestic policy?
8. How did the Nazis seek to control Christianity?

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the nature of Weimar Republic.
2. Explain the problems of the Weimar Republic.
3. Illustrate the causes of the rise of Hitler to power.
4. What did Nazis seek to achieve through their foreign policy? Explain.
5. Examine the main features of Hitler's domestic policy.
6. Discuss the measures taken by the Nazi regime to revive the economy.

5.7 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

UNIT 6 FASCISM IN ITALY

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 Rise of Fascism in Italy
- 6.3 Foreign Policy
 - 6.3.1 British Foreign Policy
 - 6.3.2 Russian Foreign Policy
- 6.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
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- 6.8 Further Readings

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6.0 INTRODUCTION

Fascism arose in Europe after World War I when many people yearned for national unity and strong leadership. In Italy, Benito Mussolini used his charisma to establish a powerful fascist state. Benito Mussolini coined the term “fascism” in 1919 to describe his political movement. He adopted the ancient Roman *fascis* as his symbol. This was a bundle of rods tied around an axe which represented the power of Rome. Mussolini established the first fascist regime, followed soon after by others, including Nazi Germany. Fascism, however, differed somewhat from one nation to another. Thus, scholars often disagree on a precise definition of fascism. Even so, they tend to agree on its common characteristics such as absolute power of the state, rule by a dictator, corporatism, extreme nationalism, superiority of the nation’s people and militarism and Imperialism. In this unit, we will also learn about the meaning and importance a foreign policy along with the British Foreign Policy and the Russian Foreign Policy.

The discipline of international relations offers two different perspectives on foreign policy. First, it perceives foreign policy as carrying a self-evident meaning, i.e., an abstract expression of relations between political entities. It is always unique and different from other forms of policy. Second, foreign policy provides one of the key ways in which the political self is differentiated from the other. Let us study in detail about the rise of fascism in Italy and the purpose of the foreign policy which is not only to change but also to control the behaviour of other states and provinces by ensuring continuity of their good deeds and action.

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6.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of fascism and its rise in Italy
- Explain the meaning, importance and objectives of foreign policy
- Discuss the factors that affect a nation's foreign policy making
- Describe the various aspects of the British Foreign policy and Russian Foreign policy

6.2 RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY

Britain, France and Italy had no change in their government at the conclusion of the First World War. However, the War impact had shaken them. The First World War proved very expensive deal for Italy, which had entered the War with great expectations. The State emerged frustrated and an embittered victor. While Britain and France secured everything they desired at the Paris Peace Conference, Italy's various claims were rejected. This is why the State felt dejected and declined, despite being on the winning side.

The War had exhausted Italy. Apart from material loss, Italy lost 20,00,000 lives, which was far more than what had been anticipated when the country switched sides from an alliance with the central powers to an alliance with the allied powers in 1915. Extreme nationalists and disgruntled senior military officers felt themselves victims of "political compromise". Many Italians thought that their country had been insufficiently compensated by the Allies for her efforts and sacrifices during the War. The liberal political leadership was held responsible for Italy's failure to secure all that had been promised.

Causes for the Rise of Dictatorship in Italy

Causes for the rise of dictatorship in Italy are as follows:

- (i) Weak foundation of liberalism:** The Unification of Italy in 1870 was seen and hailed as the triumph of liberalism in Europe. But the Electoral Law of 1882 left majority of Italians away from the right of voting and it seemed that the Unification had bought freedom to only a few. Thus, the supposedly Italian liberalism suffered from a weak base.
- (ii) Widespread illiteracy:** There was widespread illiteracy in Italy which kept the common public away from realizing and achieving its right. Above all, it had this precondition on right to vote that an individual should know to read and write. This made the issue of choosing a right government even more difficult. The innocent and illiterate Italian people were the right breed to be exploited by the corrupt political leadership.

(iii) Economic and political instability: Italy was one of the poorest countries of Europe. The economic life of the Italians was full of economic disparities, famines, poor harvest, bad monsoon, bank failure, slow rate of industrial growth, and so on. All this led to discontent among the people. In 1893, there was a peasant revolt in Sicily due to the steep increase in taxation. Some more revolts broke in other parts of the country, and all these factors led to the unpopularity of the liberal government in Italy. This situation was easily used by the rebelling Leftist section in Italy, and in 1900 King Umberto was assassinated by an anarchist. However, Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti did try to keep situation under some control. He even tried to introduce some programmes of parliamentary reforms, but his attempts failed.

(iv) Uncompromising attitude of the extremist parties: Liberalism in Italy during this time was highly criticized. The Socialist Party and the Rightist Party and writers like Caetano Mosca and Villfredo Pareto criticized liberal policies in Italy. Militant nationalists also kept on hammering open criticism on streets by demonstration.

The liberal government in Italy as compared to the ones in Britain and France was weak and unstable. The open and continuous hostility of the extremists to liberal and democratic institutions led to the rise of Fascist dictatorship in Italy.

Events Leading to the Rise of Mussolini

Mussolini, the creator soul and guide of Fascist revolution, was born to a blacksmith (1883). Mussolini became a part of the Socialist Party, but left the Party when the War broke out and became an ardent nationalist. After the War, he tried to regain entry into the Socialist Party, but since a majority of Italian socialists were against him, Mussolini's could not re-join the Party.

Dejected Mussolini turned to anti-socialist and in 1919 formed a group called 'Fasico de Combatimento' i.e., combatant group. He enlisted the support of a growing number of army officers, soldiers, nationalist, property owners and youthful intellectuals for his movement which came to be known as Fascism. Within a year, Mussolini's Fascist group became very powerful and influential in Italian political circle.

Soon after the War, Italy saw a rise in Marxist influence also inspired by Lenin's revolution. In the election of 1921, the Socialist could win only 122 seats as against 156 held by them, and the Communists in their maiden attempt 16 seats, but it was the Fascists who obtained 35 seats. Now the liberals were reduced to minority and their prime minister resigned. This gave more strength to the Fascist power which seemed to be rising slowly. These major reasons paved way for the growth of Fascism in Italy.

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Fascism: An introduction

The word “fascism” was derived from the Latin word *fascio* meaning club. The word also has its roots in the Roman ancient *fascēs* meaning a bundle of sticks with an axe protecting from them. This emblem was used as a symbol of authority. Some basic characteristics of Fascism are as follows:

- Extreme nationalists in nature.
- The Fascist had no coherent ideology.
- They were against Liberalism, Democracy, Socialism and Communism.
- For them the State was the almighty, based on the military strength and controlled by one party and one leader.
- There was emphasis on absolute obedience to the authority.
- Fascism did not permit any opposition party to function.
- The Fascists proclaim the right to regulate all economic, political, social and cultural activities.
- They followed a state capitalist economic policy and assured protection of private property rights of industrialists.
- Their leader was called the ‘Il Duce’ who would have no opposition to its party to its flag and to itself.
- The Fascist considered it an important task of their government to form public opinion by propaganda.
- They formed an association named ADITI of the young volunteers drawn from mostly middle class and universities. The members of ADITI were trained commandos who were used to break up meetings of the Socialists.

Later the responsibility of the ADITI volunteers were entrusted upon black shirted commandos called *Squadristi*.

Fascism in Form and Power towards a Totalitarian State

The Fascist adopted an anti-socialist attitude and ridiculed liberals, and also opposed the business class. The political turmoil in the country gave Mussolini the opportunity he was waiting for as the ruling liberals ceased to be a force in Italy. However, the results of the election of 1921 emboldened Mussolini and his *Squadristi* to dream of ruling the country.

By 1922, Fascist Clubs were set up all over the country to which unemployed soldiers and youth were recruited. It was financially supported by industrialists, landowners, the merchant community and all section of Italian public whose life and property were endangered. By then, the Fascist activity against the people opposed to them intensified.

When the Socialists called for a strike in 1922, the Fascist supporters ensured its failure. Mussolini’s *Squadristi* and ADITI broke the Socialist rallies and led to

labour unrest. There was very little that the government could do to prevent the civil war situation created due to the tussle between Socialists and Fascists.

Taking full advantage of the prevailing discontent in the country, Mussolini organized a march to Rome, where the King, Victor Emmanuel III, terrified by this action, dismissed his Prime Minister Luigi Facta and invited Benito Mussolini to form the government. On 30 October 1922, Mussolini came to power in a constitutional manner. Having won over big business houses, Mussolini began to make conciliatory speeches about the Roman Catholic Church which he had earlier criticized. Seeing him as a good anti-communist weapon, even Pope Pius XI swung the Church into line behind Mussolini. When Mussolini announced that he had dropped the Republican part of his programme in 1922, even the King began to look more favourably on the Fascists. The anti-fascist forces, on the other hand, failed to cooperate with each other and made no determined effort to drive the Fascists out from Italy.

Italy towards a Totalitarian State

The initial actions and working of Mussolini's government paved the way towards a totalitarian state in Italy. He tried to construct a strong nation, but through his rigorous totalitarian policies.

Mussolini's government conducted elections in 1924 to the Chamber of Deputy and managed to get a massive majority of two-third seats. This marked the end of Constitutionalism and beginning of Fascism in Italy. Soon after its victory, the Fascist Party let loose a reign of terror on the Opposition. There was ploy of kidnapping and murder of opposition leaders. By a series of law in 1925, the parliamentary government was scrapped in Italy and Mussolini was given dictatorial powers. The political structure of Italy was now of a totalitarian state. The characteristics of Italy as a totalitarian state were as follows:

- There was an absolute power vested in one person 'leader' i.e., the *Duce of Fascism*.
- The *Duce* emerged as the dominant figure in the totalitarian regime. He presided over the Fascist Grand Council which had the power and responsibility of choosing and appointing members of the legislatures and determining the scope of the legislative body.
- All recognized association were placed under supervision of the Fascist Party, and the network of spies provided a curb on the freedom of expression.
- The democratic elections of the Chamber of the Deputies was discontinued, also the jury system was abolished in the court of law.
- The system of education was changed to suit the needs of Fascism. All textbooks were based on the principles and aims of Fascism—an attempt to instil these principles in the minds of the generations to come.

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- Between 1925 and 1928, Mussolini's government enacted several laws that destroyed the political democracy as previously practised in the country.
- The administration was centralized and Mussolini became the supreme head of the state—put above the law and parliament.

Mussolini's Foreign and Domestic Policies

The aggressive nationalism pride and glory in Italian past was the key to Mussolini's power and presentation. The following highlights of Mussolini's foreign policy depict his aggressive and totalitarian approach.

The Treaty of Lausanne, 1923

This was the revision of the Treaty of *Sèvres* and bought some legal recognition to Italian possession of Dodecanese Island and gave a boost to Italian naval base in Mediterranean east. The Corfu crisis of 1923, the Fiume incidence of 1924, treaties with Balkan states in 1924, the treaty of friendship with Albania in 1927—all these treaties signified the important position of Italy in the European politics.

Soon Italy, as a part of administrative ambition to extend Fascist influence in the western Mediterranean, persuaded France and Spain to give Italy space in administrative control over several issues. And this resulted in Italian influence rising in the League of Nations too.

Four-Power Pact

In 1933, Benito Mussolini called for the creation of the Four-Power Pact as a better means of ensuring international security. Under this plan, smaller nations would have less of a voice in Great Power politics. Representatives of Britain, France, Germany and Italy signed a diluted version of Mussolini's Four-Power Pact proposal. Mussolini's chief motive in suggesting the pact was the wish for closer Franco-Italian relations.

Invasion of Abyssinia

Encouraged by Japanese attack on Manchuria, Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in 1935. England opposed Mussolini's action and the League of Nations decided to take action against him. However, Hitler came to Mussolini's aid and thus Abyssinia was captured by Italy. Mussolini gave up membership of League of Nations and became a dependable ally of Germany and Japan.

The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

Mussolini by philosophy and attitude was closer to Germany. Therefore, in 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, concluded by Germany and Japan in 1936, as a result of which the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence.

Hitler referred to this Axis as 'a great world political triangle and determined to protect decisively their right and vital interests'. In March 1938, Hitler occupied

Austria. Mussolini had assumed the self-imposed role of protector of Austria. He informed Hitler that 'Austria did not interest him at all'. By this act, Mussolini was able to earn the gratitude of Hitler but lost his cherished dream of following an independent policy and establishing protectorate over Austria.

In 1939, the Rome-Berlin Axis turned a military alliance under the Pact of Steel, with the Tripartite Pact of 1940 leading to the integration of the military aims of the Germans and its two treaty-bound allies (Italy and Japan). At their summit of the Second World War, the Axis powers occupied large parts of Europe, Africa, East and Southeast Asia, and islands of the Pacific Ocean.

Mussolini's Domestic Policy

To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall further devaluation of Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education. He introduced compulsory military training and tried to enhance the naval power of Italy to match it with the naval powers of other European countries, particularly Germany and France.

Mussolini tried to improve the lot of workers by nationalizing all factories and mills and set up syndicates to improve relations between the capitalists and workers. He brought more lands under cultivation and tried to improve and expand transport system and railways. Apart from these, Mussolini took several other steps to make Italy economically self-sufficient.

In 1929, Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Pope (the Vatican City) by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position to Mussolini. The Pope was compensated for giving up his political rights. He was permitted to keep in his possession the Vatican and the Cathedral of St. Peters. The Pope was authorized to appoint Bishops and teachers to teach religion.

Under the Pact, the Fascist government recognized the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion and religious instructions were made compulsory in all schools.

The priority based programmes of Mussolini's domestic policy were as follows:

- (i) Restoration of law and order
- (ii) Protection of private property
- (iii) Building a strong self-sufficient economy
- (iv) Reorganization of the political and ideological structure
- (v) Removal of illiteracy
- (vi) Strengthening the armed forces
- (vii) The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

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The End of Mussolini and Fascist Party

Military ambition, aggressive foreign policy, military alliance with Germany, and other political misadventure proved to be the undoing of the Fascist Party. The Italian participation in the Second World War proved to be the greatest undoing of the Fascist Party. However, the misdoings of Fascist Italy somewhere paved the way for converting Italy into a Republic.

Check Your Progress

1. What was ADITI?
2. What was the Four-Power Pact?

6.3 FOREIGN POLICY

A state without foreign policy will look like a team which is playing football without any plan to make goals and the players unaware of their role and functions in the playground. Therefore in a modern state it is significant for the External Affairs Ministry to have predefined set of goals and plans for the development of bilateral relations with other nations and participating in international forums.

Different scholars have proposed various definitions of foreign policy. According to George Modelski, “Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities according to the international environment. Foreign Policy must throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change, and succeed in changing, the behaviour of other states.” According to Huge Gibson, “Foreign policy is a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations. This calls for a clear understanding of what those interests are and how far we hope to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this falls short of being a foreign policy.”

Furthermore, the purpose of foreign policy is not only to change but also to control the behaviour of other states and provinces by ensuring continuity of their good deeds and actions. Foreign policy cannot exist in a vacuum. Foreign policy of a particular state evolves from historical events responsible for creation/ strengthening the state, principles and ideological foundation of nation-building, and purpose and interests of the State. Foreign policy can only be understood in the greater milieu in the form of the government, economy status, political conditions, geography and general culture of the country.

Objectives of Foreign Policy

Given below are some of the key general objectives that can be found in a foreign policy:

1. A foreign policy protects the integrity and unity of a country or nation. For instance, a major basis of India-China relation is to maintain the integrity of the country by rejecting Chinese claims in the parts of India. It looks at incorrect map of India which is issued by foreign countries and organizations and asks to do appropriate amendments to it.
2. A foreign policy safeguards the citizen's interest. The major aim and objective of any foreign policy is to ensure that the economic progress of a country takes place. In today's time, economic development is one of the key elements in establishing state's international status.
3. Beyond the borders, interests of the citizens are protected by the foreign policy.
4. Foreign policy also protects the sentiments and dignity of the Indian people all throughout the world. For instance, the Government of India had asked the French government to reconsider its ban on Sikh's turbans in that country even though the Sikhs may no longer be Indian citizens and have accepted French citizenship.
5. A foreign policy tries its best in maintaining contacts and developing good relationship with other states.

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Factors affecting Foreign Policy Making

Let us look at the internal factors which affect the making of a nation's foreign policy.

1. Size – Territorial size of a state influences its foreign policy in a sense that bigger the size of the state, greater the role of it in global politics.
2. Geography – A state's type of soil, its climatic conditions, having access to water supply, availability of drinking water, and so on have a good effect on the foreign policy.
3. History and culture – Historical experiences and cultural experiences of a state exert influence on its foreign policy.
4. Economic Development – The modern industrialist nations play a very important role in world politics, and construct their foreign policies to maintain such superiority.
5. Technological Progress – Technological progress and economic development are closely interlinked with one another. As a result one finds that those countries which are economically developed and well off are seen to have technological advantage as well.
6. Military Preparedness – Nations with powerful military exercise greater independence from external and foreign forces in building their foreign policy.
7. National Capacity – The national power of a state consists of its economic development, technological progress and military ability.

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8. Social Structure – Social structure influences the foreign policy of any country to a great extent.
9. Ideology of State – The ideology of any state bears a major influence on its foreign policies.
10. Various other factors such as the speed of Internet, form of government, leadership and so on also plays a major and influential role in the country's foreign policy. As put forward by Rosenau who states that, "A leader's belief about the nature of international arena and the goals that ought to be pursued therein, his or her peculiar intellectual strengths and weakness for analyzing information and making decisions, his or her past background and the extent of its relevance to the requirements of the role, his or her emotional needs and most of other personality traits these are but a few of the idiosyncratic factors that can influence the planning and execution of foreign policy."

Let us now look at the external factors which affect the making of foreign policy:

1. World Situation – A prevalent framework of world politics plays decisive role in deciding the foreign policy of a country.
2. Military Strength of Adversaries – India opted for peaceful order and friendly relation with its neighbours at the time of Independence. But the dispute with Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir and the dispute with China led India to war with these nations.

6.3.1 British Foreign Policy

The study of British foreign policy focuses more upon institutional and personal factors. If we talk about the traditional approach, it tends to remain a historical one. But there are other studies also which are found to have used different approaches. In the recent years, we find that there has been rise in various constructivist, critical and post structural approach in the field of International Relations. Let us look at it in detail.

Judi Atkin's article talks about the development of key traditions in the beliefs of policymakers. Her article examines on the New Labor's renegotiations of elements of the social democratic government. She points out that the New Labor took over the concept of interdependence, neo-Communism and the peaceful theory of democracy to redistribute social democracy to address a series of new problems. Similarly, Jamie Gaskarth's article draws on numerous discussions with ten ministers responsible for foreign policy work between 1977 and 2010. His concerns were how the interviewees conceived the traditions which they believed shaped the British foreign policy during that time, how they used the resources that they provided to confront ethical dilemmas and how they rebuilt those cultures as a result. Further, in the article by Steven Kettell seeks to mix elements of Interpretivism and post-modernist approaches used by New Labor –

and especially by Tony Blair to try to formally involve Britain in the “War on Terror”.

The Interpretive Approach: The interpretive approach is seen to be humanist and historicist, which emphasizes agency rather than structure. The Interpretivists do not happen to deny the existence of institutions or field or power or knowledge or discourses. The issue that remains is whether such patterns happen to explain anything or not. They happen to explain actions and practices by referring to traditions and various dilemmas.

The conservative tradition empathizes with the need of skepticism in International affairs, arguing upon the idea that the cautious pursuit of state interests is the recommended strategy or plan. On the other hand the Liberals and the Socialists privilege International themes. If we look at the liberal tradition, they call for a foreign policy which is driven by devotion to cosmopolitan ethics, economic freedom, International laws and institutions in order to enforce it and the extension of liberal forms of democratically elected governments. Socialists share different nationalities and nationalities of free countries, but they depart from them through the virtues of free market and liberals in contrast to social democracy.

All of these traditions over a course of time have changed. Also, it has hardly ever been that only one of the traditions has alone shaped a government’s foreign policy.

During the initial days of World War I, many Germans underwent a feeling of bonding that had evaded them since the founding of the empire. On the diplomatic front the elites ruling Germany planned for annexations of Russian, Belgian, and French territory as well as African empire. Ludendorff and Hindenburg were found to establish an independent state of Poland in the year 1916, which stopped significant negotiations with Russia for peace.

It was in 1917 when Leon Trotsky led the Russian delegation at Brest-Litovsk for negotiating with representatives from Germany and Austria. On 3rd March 1918, Lenin commanded Trotsky to accept the terms of the Central Powers which made him eventually to sign up the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. On 28th June 1919 the Treaty of Versailles was signed up.

Germany suffered a lot of things, some of which are given below:

- (i) Surrender of all German colonies as per the mandate of the League of Nations
- (ii) The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France
- (iii) Cession of Eupen-Malmedy to Belgium, Memel to Lithuania, the Hultschin district to Czechoslovakia
- (iv) Poznania, parts of East Prussia and Upper Silesia to Poland
- (v) Danzig became a free city
- (vi) Occupation and special status for the Saar under French control

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- (vii) Demilitarization and a fifteen-year occupation of the Rhineland
- (viii) German reparations of £6,600 billion
- (ix) A ban on the union of Germany and Austria
- (x) Limitation of Germany's army to 100,000 men with no conscription, no tanks, no heavy artillery, no poison-gas supplies, no aircraft and no airships

David Lloyd George who had been largely responsible for the Treaty of Versailles admitted in a memorandum in 1919: "I cannot imagine any greater cause of future war than that the German people, who have proved themselves one of the most powerful and vigorous races in the world should be surrounded by a number of small states, many of them consisting of peoples who have never previously set up a stable government for themselves."

The League of Nations was the first international organization whose principal mission was to maintain world peace. The major aim of it was to maintain peace, prevent any kind of wars to occur, settling up international disputes of any kind which might occur. Further, it was after the war that Lloyd George informed British military chiefs to plan defense spending on the assumption that no major war would occur for ten years. The British government signed the Washington Naval Treaty in the year 1922. Following the years Britain and France were seen as the two most dominant powers in Europe.

6.3.2 Russian Foreign Policy

Russia is seen as one of the most powerful countries of the world and after Vladimir Putin became the president in 2000 the foreign policy of Russia became more assertive and ambitious.

A prestige seeking state: With Putin being elected as the second term for the Presidency, a large number of consensuses were emerged. According to these consensuses, Russia's goal was to solidify its increasing economic success and strive to be viewed as a "modern great power" or "normal great power". Russia's leaders happen to seek recognition by many dominant global actors like United States, Japan, China, etc., showing that Russia is one of the major centers of power in an increasingly complex and complicated international environment. Russia took up an increasingly multidimensional view of power. Such an approach is quite evident in Russia's relation with its neighbours.

Furthermore, since 1997, Russia has appreciated its membership in the G-8 Forum of the world leading industrial states, as a means in establishing leadership all over the world. In the year 2006, Russia tried to make energy as the most dominant issue. During a visit to Berlin in the year June 2008 Medvedev launched the idea of a new pan European security treaty which became the most renowned in the Russian Foreign policy. No other state has a joint council with NATO except Russia. It was created in the year 2002 in order to promote cooperation in the

war against terrorism and to manage arms control. Regular meetings with a board of councils are regularly held from time to time between NATO and Russia. However, in 2008 NATO strongly condemned the intrusion of Russia into Georgia and threatened to suspend the joint council. Subsequently, Russia stepped onto its own accord but in 2009 the council started to work again. At the 2009 summit, Russia proposed for a new European security and its participation in the efforts to stabilize Afghanistan.

The first phase (1991-1995) of the Russian Foreign policy was to replace the deteriorating social institutions with a form of capitalist democracy. It was a phase of rapid economic privatization. The main motive of Russia was to appease the West and to be recognized as the normal member of Europe.

The second phase (1996-2006) observed a gradual shift in its policy from a west centric approach to a more pragmatic foreign policy. Furthermore, the roots of the pro-western foreign policy were laid upon by the 'New thinking' of Gorbachev. It was seen as an idealist model that transformed the conflicting nature of International politics into a consensual one. The new thinking focused on universal values of peace and harmony, social justice and principles of humanism. A number of arms deals were signed by the President in order to stop the arms race. On the lines of the 'New Thinking' of Gorbachev, a number of arms reduction treaties were signed between the US and the Soviet Union. Various treaties such as the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force, the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe and the Strategic arms reduction treaty were signed.

Furthermore, during the early 2000's, Italy eased Russia's approximation to NATO security structures. At a conference which was held in Rome in 2002, NATO and Russia established the NATO-Russia Council (NRC). This conference was found to create an atmosphere of co-operation between Russia and NATO. Also, over the last ten years or so, Italy-Russia trade relations have shown a remarkable improvement. Based on the yearly data of 2011, Italy was the second European Union country (after Germany) in terms of foreign investments in the Russian market.

Besides, in regard to its relationship with Germany, the Soviet government has aimed its attempt to normalize link with Germany for peace and prosperity of German and Soviet nations. German political actors used anti bolshevism. In the memories of allied control commission on November 9, 1920, Simons, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany wrote: "The events from the last period considerably reduced the hope for the fast end of the conflict between Poland and Russia. According to information, given by German and foreign press during last days, the government of USSR prepared the new attack on Lithuanian border. It is obvious that under such circumstances, the population of Eastern Prussia is terrified of the new danger." Further, It was important for Germany to renew, broken in November 5th 1918, relations with Soviet Russia. It was the main problem of its internal and external policies.

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Check Your Progress

3. What is the Interpretive Approach?
4. How was the first phase (1991-1995) of the Russian Foreign policy?

6.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. ADITI was an association of the young volunteers drawn from mostly middle class and universities formed by the fascists. The members of ADITI were trained commandos who were used to break up meetings of the Socialists.
2. In 1933, Benito Mussolini called for the creation of the Four-Power Pact as a better means of ensuring international security. Representatives of Britain, France, Germany and Italy signed a diluted version of Mussolini's Four-Power Pact proposal. Mussolini's chief motive in suggesting the pact was the wish for closer Franco-Italian relations.
3. The interpretive approach is seen to be humanist and historicist, which emphasizes agency rather than structure. The Interpretivists do not happen to deny the existence of institutions or field or power or knowledge or discourses.
4. The first phase (1991-1995) of the Russian Foreign policy was a phase of rapid economic privatization. The main motive of Russia was to appease the West and to be recognized as the normal member of Europe.

6.5 SUMMARY

- Britain, France and Italy had no change in their government at the conclusion of the First World War. However, the War impact had shaken them. The First World War proved very expensive deal for Italy, which had entered the War with great expectations.
- Apart from material loss, Italy lost 20,00,000 lives, which was far more than what had been anticipated when the country switched sides from an alliance with the central powers to an alliance with the allied powers in 1915. Extreme nationalists and disgruntled senior military officers felt themselves victims of "political compromise".
- The Unification of Italy in 1870 was seen and hailed as the triumph of liberalism in Europe. But the Electoral Law of 1882 left majority of Italians away from the right of voting and it seemed that the Unification had bought freedom to only a few. Thus, the supposedly Italian liberalism suffered from a weak base.

- Italy was one of the poorest countries of Europe. In 1893, there was a peasant revolt in Sicily due to the steep increase in taxation. Some more revolts broke in other parts of the country, and all these factors led to the unpopularity of the liberal government in Italy.
- The liberal government in Italy as compared to the ones in Britain and France was weak and unstable. The open and continuous hostility of the extremists to liberal and democratic institutions led to the rise of Fascist dictatorship in Italy.
- Mussolini became a part of the Socialist Party, but left the Party when the War broke out and became an ardent nationalist. After the War, he tried to regain entry into the Socialist Party, but since a majority of Italian socialists were against him, Mussolini's could not re-join the Party.
- Soon after the War, Italy saw a rise in Marxist influence also inspired by Lenin's revolution.
- The word "fascism" was derived from the Latin word *fascio* meaning club. The word also has its roots in the Roman ancient *fasces* meaning a bundle of sticks with an axe protecting from them. This emblem was used as a symbol of authority.
- The Fascists proclaim the right to regulate all economic, political, social and cultural activities.
- The Fascist adopted an anti-socialist attitude and ridiculed liberals, and also opposed the business class. The political turmoil in the country gave Mussolini the opportunity he was waiting for as the ruling liberals ceased to be a force in Italy.
- Mussolini's government conducted elections in 1924 to the Chamber of Deputy and managed to get a massive majority of two-third seats. This marked the end of Constitutionalism and beginning of Fascism in Italy. Soon after its victory, the Fascist Party let loose a reign of terror on the Opposition.
- The Treaty of Lausanne, 1923 was the revision of the Treaty of *Sèvres* and bought some legal recognition to Italian possession of Dodecanese Island and gave a boost to Italian naval base in Mediterranean east.
- Mussolini by philosophy and attitude was closer to Germany. Therefore, in 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, concluded by Germany and Japan in 1936, as a result of which the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence. Hitler referred to this Axis as 'a great world political triangle and determined to protect decisively their right and vital interests'.
- In 1929, Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Pope (the Vatican City) by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position to Mussolini. The Pope was compensated for giving up his political rights. He was permitted to keep in his possession the Vatican and the Cathedral of St.

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Peters. The Pope was authorized to appoint Bishops and teachers to teach religion.

- The priority based programmes of Mussolini's domestic policy were as follows:
 - (i) Restoration of law and order
 - (ii) Protection of private property
 - (iii) Building a strong self-sufficient economy
 - (iv) Reorganization of the political and ideological structure
 - (v) Removal of illiteracy
 - (vi) Strengthening the armed forces
 - (vii) The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis
- According to George Modelski, "Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities according to the international environment. Foreign Policy must throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change, and succeed in changing, the behaviour of other states."
- Territorial size of a state influences its foreign policy in a sense that bigger the size of the state, greater the role of it in global politics.
- Technological progress and economic development are closely interlinked with one another. As a result one finds that those countries which are economically developed and well off are seen to have technological advantage as well.
- Other factors such as the speed of Internet, form of government, leadership and so on also plays a major and influential role in the country's foreign policy.
- Judi Atkin's article about the development of key traditions in the beliefs of policymakers points out that the New Labor took over the concept of interdependence, neo-Communism and the peaceful theory of democracy to redistribute social democracy to address a series of new problems.
- The conservative tradition empathizes with the need of skepticism in International affairs, arguing upon the idea that the cautious pursuit of state interests is the recommended strategy or plan. On the other hand the Liberals and the Socialists privilege International themes.
- Russia is seen as one of the most powerful countries of the world and after Vladimir Putin became the president in 2000 the foreign policy of Russia became more assertive and ambitious.
- Since 1997, Russia has appreciated its membership in the G-8 Forum of the world leading industrial states, as a means in establishing leadership all

over the world. In the year 2006, Russia tried to make energy as the most dominant issue.

- The first phase (1991-1995) of the Russian Foreign policy was to replace the deteriorating social institutions with a form of capitalist democracy. It was a phase of rapid economic privatization. The main motive of Russia was to appease the West and to be recognized as the normal member of Europe.
- The second phase (1996-2006) observed a gradual shift in its policy from a west centric approach to a more pragmatic foreign policy. Furthermore, the roots of the pro-western foreign policy were laid upon by the ‘New thinking’ of Gorbachev.
- A number of arms deals were signed with the President in order to stop the arms race. The new thinking signed a number of arms reduction treaties between the US and the Soviet Union. Various treaties such as the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force, the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe and the Strategic arms reduction treaty were signed.

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6.6 KEY WORDS

- **Fascism:** It refers to an authoritarian and nationalistic right-wing system of government and social organization.
- **Democracy:** It refers to a system in which the government of a country is elected by the people.
- **Dilemma:** It is a situation in which you have to make a difficult choice among the available options related to some things.
- **Foreign Policy:** It is a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations.
- **Power:** It refers to the political control of a country.
- **State:** It refers to a country which is considered as an organized political community and controlled by one government.
- **Treaty:** It is an agreement between countries and in some cases international organizations, which is binding at international law.
- **War:** It is a state of fighting between different countries or group with the use of weapons.
- **Interpretivism:** It is a school of thought in contemporary jurisprudence and the philosophy of law.

6.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short Answer Questions

1. State the events which led to the rise of Mussolini in Italy.
2. What were the priority based programmes of Mussolini's domestic policy?
3. Give definitions of foreign policy given by the scholars George Modelski and Hugu Gibson.
4. What are the objectives of foreign policy?

Long Answer Questions

1. Explain the causes for the rise of dictatorship in Italy.
2. Illustrate some basic characteristics of Fascism.
3. Describe the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
4. Describe the internal and external factors which affect the making of a nation's foreign policy.

6.8 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

BLOCK III RISE OF JAPAN AND CHINA

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UNIT 7 THE RISE OF CHINA AND JAPAN

Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Objectives
- 7.2 US Foreign Policy Towards China and Japan
- 7.3 Rise of Japan
- 7.4 Rise of Chinese Nationalism
- 7.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 Key Words
- 7.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 7.9 Further Readings

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The US foreign policy has not been altered a lot since time immemorial. One needs to remember the major change which has taken place is the gradual intensity that features the US foreign policy practices and discourses.

The rise of Japan as an economic power in the international political economy is one of the most spectacular developments since the Second World War. It is not only the sheer size of the Japanese economy that illustrates its success, but also the country's technological innovations, quality of products and the prevalence of made-in-Japan goods in every quarter of the globe that manifests the ever growing Japanese influence in the world. More interesting still is that, despite its colossal economic power, second only to the United States, Japan has so far demonstrated little desire to take responsibility for the conduct of world affairs. To put it another way, an economic giant has behaved like a dwarf in international political affairs.

Chinese nationalism emerged in the late Qing dynasty (1636–1912) in response to the humiliating defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War and the invasion and pillaging of Beijing by Eight-Nation Alliance. In both cases, the aftermath forced China to pay financial reparations and grant special privileges to foreigners. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has placed nationalism at the centre of its claim to maintain a monopoly on political power ever since the days of Mao Zedong's leadership. For decades the Party has consistently claimed that its

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credentials as the saviour and guardian of a nation threatened and humiliated by a coalition of enemies within and abroad is what entitles it to hold a monopoly on political power. Rather than disappear with Mao's demise, the narrative of the CCP leading the nation to victory in the war against Japan and the struggle with the Nationalists in the Civil War has been given new significance during the period of 'reform and opening' that began in the late 1970s. At the heart of the ideological orthodoxy of 'Deng Xiaoping Theory' lies a call for loyalty to the nation rather than class struggle and socialist egalitarianism. And according to ideological orthodoxy, loyalty to the nation means loyalty to the CCP.

Let us study in detail about the US foreign policy, the rise of Japan and the rise of Chinese nationalism in the following unit.

7.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the foreign policy of the US towards China and Japan
- Explain the Meiji Restoration during the rise of Japan
- Discuss the reforms brought in after the completion of Meiji Restoration in Japan
- Describe the rise of Chinese nationalism

7.2 US FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS CHINA AND JAPAN

The US foreign policy is shaped by two important internal processes: a mass consumerist mentality of the people that is deeply pervaded through the American subculture and a coherent policy of strengthening global military capacity to ensure universal access to resources, energy, natural resources and credit. For example there are 800 US military bases across the world and out of which the biggest of them is in Kosovo.

After 1945, number of US military interventions as a means for conducting geopolitical projects of global hegemony have undermined the very nature of democracy. After World War II, the strategy of US was establishment of American hegemony in the oil-rich countries in the Middle East region.

President Truman got the US involved in the Korean War without the congressional approval. Similarly, it was President Lyndon B. Johnson who had intensified US engagement in the Vietnam War. Eisenhower also had started a nuclear deterrence policy to end the Korean War with China. The Democrat John F. Kennedy (1961-1963) continued Eisenhower's containment policy, expanding it in Latin America and elsewhere.

According to Truman, “one of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the US is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a life free from coercion...to help free people through their own effort to maintain their free institutions and national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose totalitarian regimes on them.”

US foreign policy in relation to Japan

The U.S. Japan Mutual Security Treaty was a ten-year agreement that showed as to how it would allow the US forces to remain present and still hold its dominance even after Japan had gained sovereignty. Earlier this agreement was joined with the Yoshida Doctrine. Yoshida Doctrine was a post-war strategy which showed that Japan relied heavily on the United States for its security needs and was formulated by the Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida.

When the United States was found using the alliance to bolster its strategic presence in East Asia, it faced a divided Korean Peninsula. Also, at the same time it was the Yoshida’s government who happened to create the self-defence force in the year 1954. Furthermore, in the year 1960, there was revision in the agreement between USA and Japan. This revision focused on the aspect which provided United States to hold the right to set up bases in the archipelago in exchange for a commitment to defend Japan in the event of an attack.

Further, it was in the year 1967 when the then Prime Minister Eisaku Sato established the Three Non-Nuclear Principles—no possession, production, or introduction. Japan was seen to rely heavily on the USA military and its nuclear abilities. But later on, the alliance was changed. In 1970s, the United States withdrew from Vietnam and Japan. The 1990–91 Gulf War spurred debate in Japan about whether its constitution allowed the SDF to join the U.S. led coalition to expel Iraq from Kuwait, a force that had been authorized by the UN Security Council.

The fall of the Soviet Union made the allies to take in new guidelines in 1997 which led to expansion of Japan’s military bases. An increase in the defence cooperation was seen by the 2000s. For instance, in November 2001, the government of Junichiro Koizumi dispatched the Maritime Self-Defence Force to the Indian Ocean providing with the support for U.S. military operations in Afghanistan that marked Japan’s first overseas military action during a combat operation. Moreover, in 2015 under the leadership of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Japan was seen to reinterpret its constitution that permitted its military to protect allies for the very first time. This strengthened the relation between the United States and Japan and led to the expansion of their military collaboration.

US foreign policy in relation to China

In the year 1949, Chinese Communist Party leader named Mao Zedong founded the People’s Republic of China in Beijing on October 1. Chiang along with others ran away to Taiwan. In 1950, the Korean War broke out. The United Nations and the United States both were seen to rush to South Korea’s defence. As many

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as four million people died in the conflict which lasted for around three years till the United Nations, China, and North Korea signed an armistice agreement in 1953.

Nine years later, when China had asserted control over Tibet, worldwide uprising occurred in Lhasa. The United States and the United Nations criticized Beijing for human rights abuses in Tibet. Further, in the year 1964, China conducted its first test of an atomic bomb. In March 1969, Sino-Soviet border conflict took place. The first public indication of warming relations between Washington and Beijing occurred when China's ping-pong team invited members of the U.S. team to China on April 6, 1971. Few years later, Congress approved the Taiwan Relations Act, whereby allowance was given to commercial and cultural relations between the United States and Taiwan.

Following years, the U.S. President Bill Clinton signed the U.S. China Relations Act of 2000 in October that eventually led to permanent normal trade relations with Beijing and made the way for China to join the World Trade Organization in the year 2001. During the period from 1980 to 2004, U.S. China trade rose from \$5 billion to \$231 billion. In the year 2007, China was found to increase its spending on military in order to protect national security and territorial integrity. China surpassed Japan as the world's second-largest economy in 2010. In 2015, at the fourteenth annual Shangri-La Dialogue on Asian security, U.S. Secretary of Defence Ashton Carter called on China to put a break and stop its controversial land reclamation efforts in the South China Sea, saying that the United States opposed any further militarization of the disputed territory.

Check Your Progress

1. What was Yoshida Doctrine?
2. Why and for what did the United States and the United Nations criticize Beijing?

7.3 RISE OF JAPAN

The Meiji Restoration is one of the major turning points in Japanese history. However, to fully understand the nature of the Restoration and how it occurred, an examination of the preceding years is necessary. As has been discussed earlier, the domestic situation in Japan from the nineteenth century onwards gradually moved towards the breaking point, especially from the period of 1853 to 1868. It was during this time that Japanese political thought changed radically due to increasing foreign contact with the end of its Sakoku foreign policy.

The opening of the country by force revealed the weaknesses of the dual system of government. The shogun was in charge of foreign policy, but hesitated to take decision on matters related to opening the country to foreigners in the

1850s. While negotiating treaties with Commodore Perry and other foreign representatives, the Shogun asserted that he must refer the matter to the emperor before finalizing the terms. Instead of taking independent decisions and notify the emperor later, the Shogun chose to consult the emperor before taking a final decision. The Shogun must have calculated that consulting the emperor would strengthen his position by invoking imperial authority; however, the fact that for the first time in hundreds of years, matters of importance were referred to the emperor indicated recognition of weakness on the part of the Shogun. It also sent a message to the people that the Shogun was actually practicing the authority that really belonged to the emperor.

When Commodore Perry came to Japan in 1853, the Japanese had knowledge about China's defeat to the Western powers in the Opium War of 1839–42. Moreover, Commodore Perry had already exhibited the military might of the West with his fleet of four 'black ships'. Officials in the shogun's council knew that it was not wise to go against the wishes of the Western powers. On the other hand, the shogunate also faced the certainty that it would be giving powerful ammunition to its opponents if the treaties were signed. These western clans had long been envious of the domination of the Tokugawa clan. They used their influence on the emperor to embarrass the Shogun by insisting on the continuation of the seclusion policy. Under pressure from the foreign powers, the Shogun had no other option but to disobey the imperial order.

Meanwhile, several incidents involving foreigners occurred that had an immediate impact on domestic policies and the foreign relations of Japan. After the treaties were signed, the shogunate was under pressure to dispel the foreigners from Japan. Under such circumstances, the shogunate used every possible means to prolong the implementation of the treaty stipulations. On the one hand, the shogunate kept assuring the imperial court that the foreigners would be driven away as soon as preparations could be made; on the other hand, it kept assuring the foreigners that it would observe the treaties as soon as it could pacify the populace. However, two incidents, within a short span of each other in 1863–64 involving the two great western clans of Satsuma and Choshu, made the emperor hesitate on his demand on the continuation of the sakoku foreign policy.



Fig 7.1 The Namamugi Incident Depicted in a Nineteenth Century Japanese Print

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Namamugi_incident.jpg)

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In 1862, the Lord of Satsuma was traveling with his retainers from Yedo to his home dominion, when his entourage encountered a small group of Englishmen. Unaware of the law and customs of the land, which gave the right of way to important dignitaries, the foreigners refused to give the right of way to them. As a result, the samurai bodyguards lashed out at the English party killing one member of the group, Charles Lennox Richardson. The British government immediately demanded compensation. The shogunate was already hard-pressed for funds, so it was unable to meet the demand. This incident is known as the Namamugi Incident and the Kanagawa Incident. In retaliation for the murder, British warships attacked the Satsuma domain and bombarded the Satsuma capital of Kagoshima in 1863.

The other great western clan Choshu was brought to terms by similar means. Emperor Komei (reigned 1846–1867), who now began to take an active role in administration, issued an order in early 1863 to expel the ‘foreign barbarians’. Facing pressure of the anti-foreign mood in the high office, the Shogun finally issued a secret order for the expulsion of the foreigners. Before the order came into effect, the Lord of Choshu ordered his retainers to close the inland sea to foreign vessels by firing on any vessel that attempted to pass through the straits of Shimonoseki. When the Japanese fired upon the foreign merchant vessels in 1863, the Americans retaliated immediately. Britain, France, the Netherlands and the United States contributed vessels to make up a joint expedition sent in 1864 to bombard the city.

There were three major impacts of these incidents. Firstly, it reconfirmed the superiority of foreign weapons and the inferiority of Japanese weapons, and also changed the anti-foreign attitude of the great western clans. Secondly, it revealed Tokugawa’s military weakness, after which it was not possible for the Shogun to exercise military control over his own vassals or to protect himself from the foreigners. Thirdly, in 1866, the British offered to reduce the fine the joint powers imposed on Japan after the Battle of Shimonoseki Straits if the emperor would ratify the treaties. The emperor agreed to the British offer. The strong anti-foreign sentiment died down and was instead replaced by the mood to learn from them.

Meanwhile, the internal situation in Japan was gradually changing. From 1866, the Choshu and Satsuma clans forged alliances and began to develop their relationships with the Western powers, using these contacts to strengthen and modernize their armed forces. Leading officials from these clans also started to put together an alliance with officials from a few other domains and a group of nobles at the imperial court. Two changes at the top political circle in early 1867 resulted in the political agitation coming to a conclusion. First, Emperor Komei died, and his fourteen-year-old son Prince Mutsuhito ascended to the throne. Second, the former regent to the shogun, Tokugawa Yoshunobu became the fifteenth shogun.

The new shogun made a final effort at internal reform with French assistance, but this was in vain. On the other hand, the accession of a new emperor provided

a logical opportunity for the western clans such as Satsuma and Choshu to realize their objectives of destroying the shogunate and strengthening their own position. Some of the daimyos, like the Lord of Tosa, whose aim was to preserve the shogunate together with his own position, tried to work out a conservative coalition in close association with the imperial court. The daimyo of Tosa persuaded the Shogun to resign in favour of a council of daimyos working together under the emperor, suggesting that the Tokugawa head of house would retain his power and land. Consequently, in 1867, a joint memorandum by the daimyos of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen was sent to the Shogun requesting that the actual power be restored to the emperor. In view of the danger being constantly exerted against Japan from the outside, even the strongest branch families of the Tokugawa clan, the daimyos of Owari and Echizen, supported the move. Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu responded to the memorandum by abdicating his position. The Tokugawa shogunate ended officially in November 1867.

The restoration of the emperor should have put all the clans on an equal footing before the throne, with appointments to office evenly distributed and favours impartially bestowed among the clans. Tokugawa Yoshinobu was confident that he would be chosen as the chief adviser to the emperor under the new regime, for otherwise he would scarcely have resigned his post without a fight to secure the future interests of his clan. However, the western clans, particularly Satsuma and Choshu, had their reasons to make sure that this did not happen. Firstly, they hated the Tokugawa clan; secondly, they had power ambitions for their own clans; and thirdly, they were pro-emperor and still anti-foreign. The western clans were thus determined to strip the Tokugawa clan of its political power and material possessions, and to take the political initiative themselves.

The western clan leaders moved warriors into the imperial capital at Kyoto on January 3, 1868, and the following day, had the fifteen-year-old emperor declare his own restoration to full power. Realizing that the western clans are bent on destroying him, the ex-shogun decided to take up arms. Those who had interests in maintaining the shogunate supported the Shogun. The ensuing civil war, known as the Boshin War, was brief and decisive. The last Tokugawa shogun surrendered at Edo, and went off into exile in Ezo (present day Hokkaido). Thus, the Meiji Restoration was militarily complete.

Establishment of a Modern State

In 1868, a new regime was established in Japan. The imperial capital was moved from Kyoto to Edo, where the emperor moved into the old palace of the shogun and also renamed Edo to Tokyo. The new regime was given a period name, which would also be the name of the young emperor, Meiji (Enlightened Rule).

Initial Changes

The Meiji Restoration brought an end to the dual administration system by the shogunate and the imperial court, and abolished the institutions of the shogunate

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and the han. However, the feudal regime was left intact. The idea of the Restoration movement had been a return to practices and institutions of the Nara period as much as a reorganization of the country based on new ideas imported from Europe. A moderate political change meant that the task of creating new institutions of government did not require a complete remaking of the political apparatus. It, therefore, seemed possible to utilize many of the old channels of authority and much of the existing machinery of administration, and thus satisfy modern needs with small incremental changes. The idea of the West that influenced Japan the most was the idea of a deliberative assembly as a part of the machinery of government.

In early 1868, the new government took two steps. In March, it summoned delegates from all the domains to form a consultative assembly. In April, the government issued a Five-Charter Oath in the emperor's name declaring the general aims of the new government. In 1869, all daimyos returned their respective domain land and population register to the emperor. Domains were designated as public land with uniform procedures for tax collection. Daimyos were appointed as local governors with a government stipend as their main source of income. In 1871, domains were converted to prefectures. Initially, around two hundred and fifty domains were restructured into seventy-two prefectures and three municipalities. The number of prefectures was further reduced to forty-three in 1888. The initial political arrangement was in the line of the daijo-kan system of the Nara and Heian periods.

Between 1871 and 1873, a series of land and tax laws were enacted to support a strong fiscal policy. In 1882, political parties were formed. Okuma Shigenobu established the Constitutional Progressive Party (Rikken Kaishinto) that advocated British-style constitutional democracy. To counter this liberal ideology, Fukuchi Genichiro, supported by government bureaucrats and other pro-emperor people established the Imperial Rule Party (Rikken Teiseito).

In 1873, Meiji leaders Okubo Toshimichi, Kido Takayoshi, Itagaki Taisuke, Ito Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru and others met in Osaka to discuss the formation of a representative assembly. This conference resulted in the reorganization of the government with the establishment of an independent judiciary and appointment of a Chamber of Elders (Genroin) tasked with reviewing proposals for a legislature. The decisions reached in Osaka in 1873 were officially sanctioned by an Imperial Proclamation in April 1875, and came to be known as the Osaka Conference of 1875. The emperor ordered the Council of Elders to draft a constitution. The Constitution of the Empire of Japan was finalized in 1889. The transitional phase of the political system ended with the enactment of the constitution. The new system came into full operation in 1890 with the convocation of the first Diet.

However, the transition phase was not smooth. Meiji leaders were divided into conservative and liberal groups. The liberals propagated the establishment of a national assembly with representative democracy modelled on the British parliamentary system. On the other hand, the conservatives favoured a more gradual

approach to democracy. This division was clearly visible in the two political parties established in 1882 based on the two opposite political ideologies.

Meiji Constitution

The seven-chapter Meiji Constitution was promulgated in 1889. The new constitution was built upon a combination of the Restoration idea (that the emperor was the source of all power and the dispenser of all favours) and the feudal idea (that the real power was exercised for the emperor by others, either agents or agencies). The first chapter was devoted to the position and powers of the emperor. The emperor's power and position was sacred and inviolable. He determined the organization of the several administrative services with the power to appoint and remove people from both civil and military office, and also fixing the salaries of civilian and military officers. He exercised the supreme command of the army and navy. All laws were to be made by the emperor with the consent of the Imperial Diet. Furthermore, the constitution stipulated the emperor to retain a very wide ordinance power. In exercising these powers, however, the emperor acted through two constitutional advisory bodies, the Council of Ministers and the Privy Council, both of them established before the circulation of the constitution. Chapter four of the constitution was devoted to these two bodies. A new feature of the constitutional system was the representative assembly called the Diet. Its powers, functions and relations to the other parts of the system were set forth in the third chapter of the constitution. The Diet was made up of two houses: the Upper House and the Lower House. The Upper House consisted of peers sitting either by right or by election from their class, or through nomination by the Imperial court. The Lower House consisted of members elected by qualified voters. The details concerning the composition and choice of members of the two houses were mentioned in the Imperial ordinances which supplemented the general provisions of the constitution. Full control over the meetings of the Diet was vested with the emperor. The second chapter stipulated the rights and duties of subjects. The fifth and chapters talked about the judicature and finance respectively, and the last chapter contained supplementary rules.

An extra-constitutional feature and a remnant of the feudal age was the provision for elder statesmen (genro) who acted as advisors to the imperial court. Out of a total nine genros, eight were from the samurai class, four each from the Satsuma and Choshu clans and one was of aristocratic origin (kuge). The institution ended with the death of the last of the genros in 1940.

Reasons for Japan's Transformation

Although ultimately Japan proved to be the most adaptive in its response to challenges from the West in the mid-nineteenth century, its initial reaction to the arrival of foreign imperialists was similar to that of China- to expel the foreign 'barbarians'. China and Japan shared a similar socio-political-economic structure and also shared similar cultural values. However, while China remained a victim of

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western imperialism for a long time, Japan strode forward, maintaining its sovereignty and quickly catching up with major foreign powers. Japan's neighbours came to be both inspired and threatened by her rapid modernization, but could not immediately emulate its success. Japan's capability of rapid change made it a constitutional monarchy with an elected parliament and a strong central government within fifty years of Western invasion whereas China struggled for almost a century before peace returned. Japan was capable of rapid change because of the following factors:

- (i) **Geography:** Japan's geographic features as a group of islands kept the borders relatively stable. Besides, since Japan was farthest from the traditional European maritime trade routes, it insulated her from Western traders for a long time. China, by contrast, faced Russian threats from the northern border and other European powers in the south.
- (ii) **Size:** Japan's smaller size made it easier for a strong central government to control regional rivals. In terms of land area, China is approximately twenty five times larger than Japan. Therefore, compared to China, Japan could be administered with relative ease. China's government had to spend enormous resources in subduing widespread and sometimes far-off rebellions at a time when its authority was weakening.
- (iii) **Western interference:** The imperialist powers initially bypassed Japan, and rushed to China for more profit from a bigger Chinese market. Consequently, from the beginning Westerners had a far less impulse to interfere in Japan's internal affairs than in China's.
- (iv) **Receptivity:** For the Chinese, more than two thousand years of assumed cultural superiority created an unsurpassable barrier. China considered itself the centre of the universe, and the Chinese emperor as the sole legitimate ruler of the world. Any other country was just a tributary. Therefore, it was difficult for China to accept Western superiority and learn from the West. Japan, by contrast, had assimilated outside influences from China and Korea periodically. Thus, cultural borrowing was not an anathema to the Japanese.
- (v) **Leadership:** The administrative talent of the samurai class proved to be critical for the emergence of Japan as a modern industrial nation. They offered an alternative leadership to the shogunate under the aegis of the emperor. The samurai class was used to competition that needed boldness. The leaders of the Meiji Restoration were able to take risks. China's scholar official leadership, on the other hand, was not ready to upset the equilibrium by defying their traditional way.
- (vi) **Ruler-commoner relationship:** Internal political and economic degeneration was severe in both Japan and China. Peasant uprisings were common in both countries. However, when the situation reached a breaking point, the Japanese people could turn to the emperor. The emperor became the symbol of unity and strength in the face of foreign menace in Japan. In

China, the ruling clique was itself an outsider. The common people blamed the ruling Qing Dynasty as much as they blamed the Westerners for China's plight.

- (vii) **Visionary nation-building approach:** Japan undertook infrastructure development activities and military modernization and nation building activities without delay. Educating the nation at the initial stage of nation building was another such far-sightedness of the leaders.
- (viii) **Political unity:** Though Satsuma, Choshu and other western clans used the foreign invasion as a weapon to dislodge the Tokugawa shogun in an intention to establish their prominence, there was political unity in matters of national concerns. On the other hand, in China, maintaining selfish individual authority reigned supreme. Empress Dowager Cixi seriously compromised with national interests to conserve her political power. Because of political unity, Japan could implement policies smoothly.

Significance of the Meiji Restoration

The political revolution of the Meiji Restoration that began in the Meiji Period (1868–1912) ushered in an era of major political, economic, military and social change. The policies of the Meiji government brought about modernization and Westernization in Japan. Although the main motive behind the Meiji Restoration was clan rivalry for political control, the result was revolutionary.

The Meiji Restoration ended the dual government system that had started in 1603. With the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate, the age of feudalism ended, and a constitutional monarchy under direct imperial rule of Emperor Meiji began. The Meiji economic reform led to rapid industrialization and modernization. This made Japan, first, a regional economic and military power, and then a world economic and military power. She entered into the economic, political and military affairs of the world within fifty years of the Meiji Restoration.

Japan's ability to learn fast from the West and transform itself into a modern country at par with the West earned the respect of the imperialist powers that were present in Japan. As a result, the unequal treaties that had granted foreign powers judicial and economic privileges through extraterritoriality were revised in 1894. Moreover, Japan established itself as an ally of the Western powers by signing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. The consequences of Japan's military and economic modernization were disastrous for her neighbours. Increasing militarism gave rise to an imperialist Japan. Parts of China and Korea became Japanese colony. The second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) in particular caused much destruction and loss of life in China. Much like the West, Japan treated the natives of her colonies brutally. As an imperialist country, Japan gave competition to imperialist Russia's territorial ambition in the East Asian region. Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) established her as a world power.

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Finally, and most importantly, the quality of life for the average Japanese citizen increased considerably after the Meiji Restoration. By the early twentieth century, the majority of Japanese lived in large industrial cities. Class differentiation under rigid social hierarchy had been abolished and many aspects of Western culture and Western goods were adopted. A new education system was also adopted, which gave rise to an educated population. Shintoism replaced Confucianism as the dominant ideology of Japan. The emperor was the head of the Shinto religion.

7.3.1 Reforms

The Meiji rulers chose the market economy as the mode of economic development and vigorously promoted economic development with the motto ‘Shokusan Kogyo’ (Increase Production, Promote Industry). At the close of the Tokugawa Period, though rice was still the standard of exchange, money had become the principal means of exchange. In big castle towns, there was a thriving trade in the products of the skilled handicraft industries of Kyoto and other centres. A division of labour was also becoming apparent between those who produced raw materials and those who produced finished products. This division, however, was restricted by the dominance of household industries. Commercial capital was concentrated in the hands of traders and usurers who were dominated by the rice brokers of Osaka. In general, the economic system that developed was a kind of primitive monopoly mercantilism between the great cities and the adjacent rural areas. After Japan was opened to foreign trade in 1854, the Tokugawa shogunate and some other clans such as the Choshu and Satsuma had already initiated military related industries such as shipbuilding and arms manufacturing. Commercial economy also saw considerable growth. There were many rich merchants who had saved large amount of capital, which had the potential to stimulate industrialization. Many of the former daimyos who got government pension in lump sum were another potential capital pool. However, merchant capitalists who were in a financial position to set up industries on the Western model hesitated, given the vast risks involved. Therefore, the government undertook industrialization drawing its capital from merchant loans and from the labour of the peasants in the form of land tax revenue. Private capital, in contrast, tended to remain in the field of trade or in banking, where it found a safe and profitable outlet in government loans. The policy of government involved in industry was followed closely until 1880. After the initial development of the industry, the government started to sell some enterprises to the financial oligarchy called the zaibatsu.¹ The result of this industrial policy was manifold. Firstly, the direct government control of industry gave way to indirect protection. Secondly, industrial as well as financial capital came to be concentrated in the same hands. Thirdly, though Japan had to borrow foreign capital, the economic structure was largely fashioned without major foreign loans. As a result, unlike in China, Japan did not fall prey to foreign debt and financial imperialism.

From the inception, the government concentrated on developing the defence industry. The government also kept important sectors like strategic security,

transport and communication under its control. The railway and telegraph, for example, were nationalized as soon as they could be. Other reform initiatives included the building up of financial institutions such as banks and stock exchange, infrastructure development and communications network, currency unification based on the yen as the unit of value and creating legal codes including commercial and tax laws.

The new land tax policy had a major impact on the peasantry. In 1873, three major land tax rules of the Tokugawa regime were changed. First, tax was to be fixed as per the market value of the land instead of the yield of the harvest. Second, tax was to be paid at a fixed rate of three per cent instead of an adjustable one, and third, tax was to be paid in cash instead of kind (mainly rice). These measures gave land ownership to the peasantry as the government recognized private ownership of land. The land tax reforms benefited the government. For the government, the fixed land tax rate at three per cent guaranteed fixed revenue. The government invested the income from land tax to industry. However, the rate of tax was high for poor peasants. The Tokugawa system, in which peasants paid less tax if the yield was less, was a peasant friendly system. In the Meiji Era, it was the peasant who was to bear the brunt of low yield or crop failure. The new land tax affected mostly those poor farmers who lived a hunter-gatherer life in uncultivated lands. Another impact of the new tax system was the foreclosure of mortgages in years of crop failure, raising the proportion of tenant-operated land from around twenty-five per cent to forty-four per cent by the end of the century. Other measures in agricultural reform included the opening of new land for agriculture, adoption of new farming and importation of new kinds of plants and seeds. The new measures increased agricultural production steadily. Rice production, for example, witnessed an increase by over thirty per cent due to the opening of new arable land and innovative farming methods between 1880 and 1894. A series of peasant uprisings broke out in protest including the Ise Revolt and the Makabe Revolt. In 1877, the government reduced the land tax rate to 2.5 per cent. On the other hand, land became concentrated in the hands of rich peasants.

Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and over Russia in Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 gave a new fillip to the development of capitalism in Japan. Japan accumulated a huge capital as war indemnity from China. Japan was able to bring her currency in line with other foreign currencies with this inflow of capital and increase industrial production. Japan could also increase her credit in the international money market and increased her borrowings against the foreign loans. Japan also gained economically from her colonies in Korea and Manchuria. With such vast pool of capital, Japan's industrialization process was largely smooth and fast, but for lack of human resource. Since Japan did not have skilled personnel to aid the industry, the government borrowed foreign technology and appointed a large number of foreign experts who served in various fields on the one hand, and sent Japanese students to Europe and America for skill training on the other. The government put obstacles to foreign intervention in the

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Japanese economy as much as possible by discouraging large-scale foreign investment, avoiding taking foreign loans and by buying back foreign-owned industrial undertakings. The trade and investment rules were enacted to the disadvantage of foreign businesspersons. The government also enacted a new civil and criminal code, picking up from German and French law to revoke the unequal treaties imposed on Japan by the foreign imperialist powers. The Western nations finally agreed to revise the treaties in 1894, acknowledging Japan as an equal in principle, although not as an international power.

Military Reform

Much concerned about national security, Japan made significant efforts at military modernization. Many government leaders of the Meiji Restoration belonged to the samurai class. They had been military commanders before 1868 and had experienced military encounters with the West and had also fought the civil war that led to the restoration. Therefore, they understood the importance of a strong military in supporting the civilian government. It was then only logical that military reform was a top priority of the government. Military undertakings of the Tokugawa shogunate and some western clans such as the Satsuma and Choshu had already laid the foundations for modern military establishment. The shogunate had set up a number of gunneries, the Satsuma clan had created a naval squadron and the Choshu clan had raised an army on European models.

The new regime's objective for military reform was expressed in its slogan 'Fukoku Kyohei' (variously translated as 'Enrich the Nation, Strengthen the Army' and 'Prosperous Nation, Strong Army'). Initially, the imperial government had to rely on troops furnished by the western clans. However, soon it began to organize an independent force. In 1873, the army was nationalized and universal service was introduced, eliminating feudal and class ideas under the Conscription Law. According to the law, all Japanese males over twenty-three years of age were required to serve a seven-year military service in the regular army, with four more years in the reserve. The army was equipped with modern weapons and trained under French direction. Steps were taken to build up a navy. The government chose to go to England for officers to advise them on naval matters, and secured from the British the vessels which they could not build in their newly established shipyards. The government established an arsenal in Tokyo in 1868 and in Osaka in 1870. Masujiro Omura, one of the architects of modern Japanese army, established Japan's first military academy in Kyoto in 1868. Japanese cadets were sent to military schools in Europe and United States for training. In 1872, Yamagata Aritomo and Saigo Tsugumichi founded the Corps of the Imperial Guards with recruits from Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa clans. In the same year, the war office (hyobusho) was replaced with a War Department and a Naval Department. The emperor was the commander-in-chief of the army, and theoretically the sole source of military authority.



Fig 7.2 Saigo Tsugumichi

(*Source:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Saigo_Tsugumichi_by_Gutekunst,_1876.jpg)

Some reforms, such as the abolition of the hierarchical system and universal conscription did not find popular support. Peasants were dissatisfied with the sudden imposition of conscription; to them it seemed to be a troublesome obligation. Thus, they rose in revolt against the measure. At the same time, the samurai were dissatisfied with the loss of their military status and class privilege to the peasants. The justification to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate was the ideological stand of ‘Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians’ (Sonno joi). For some of them, the replacing of the Japanese way of life so speedily with a Western one was a betrayal of the ‘expel the barbarian’ (joi) part of the cause of the war they fought so passionately for. In fact, the modernization of military following the Meiji Restoration abolished the privileged social status of the samurai class and weakened their financial position. The introduction of universal military conscription had almost eliminated their need in society. Many samurai had lost their livelihoods after the reforms rendered their status obsolete. A large segment of the samurai class was disappointed with the direction the reforms under the new government had undertaken and thus revolted. The Saga Rebellion led by Eto Shimpei and Shima Yoshitake in 1874 and the Shinpuren Rebellion in 1876 were some such rebellions. Shinpuren was an extremist and xenophobic political society of ex-samurai from

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Kumamoto prefecture. Otaguro Tomoo was the leader of the society. The Shinpuren Rebellion had a ripple effect. It gave rise to Hagi Rebellion and Akizuki Rebellion, both in 1876. In 1878, even the Imperial Guard staged a mutiny.

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Fig 7.3 Maeba Issei, Leader of the Hagi Rebellion

(*Source:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Issei_Maehara.jpg)

The revolts were suppressed quickly. However, Yamagata Aritomo, one of the architects of modern Japanese military and later War Minister was apprehensive of the new national army's loyalty. As a result, the 1880s witnessed some more reorganization in the army. After 1885, the army was trained under German direction. Stricter discipline and tighter administrative controls were introduced. Previously the emperor was assisted by civilian officials in military matters. Now, a general staff and a war department assisted by a board of field marshals replaced the civilian officials as the emperor's advisors on military matters. To instill a strong sense of loyalty and to prevent possible influence of democratic movements on the military, the old samurai spirit of chivalry, bushido (the way of the warrior) was reintroduced to the troops. In 1878, Yamagata issued a set of instructions titled *Admonition to the Military*, emphasizing unquestioned loyalty to the emperor. Soldiers were asked to cultivate a traditional militarist spirit. In this way, the authoritarian and militarist ideas of the feudal past were maintained in the armed forces. Later on the Conscription Law was revised, and the span of military service was extended.

Education Reform

The spirit of change was most noticeable in the field of education. A ministry of education was established in 1871 to chart out the process of building a national system of education. As early as in 1872, the Japanese adopted the principle of compulsory elementary education and initiated establishment of a system of public schools. In the development of the system, three distinct foreign influences were visible, as the Japanese studied each foreign model and selected whichever they thought would be best for the country. The government adopted the American system of primary and secondary education in a modified form, the French model of university organization and introduced the German emphasis on vocational education.

In the primary education sector, both boys and girls were required to attend school for four years (later increased to six years). The age of enrolment at primary school was fixed at six years. In primary school, students were taught the usual elementary subjects, with equal emphasis on character development as on mental exercise. Loyalty to the emperor and commitment to the state were also carefully inculcated through studies in the elementary as well as higher schools. Elementary education was extended over eight years, divided into two parts of four years each. Secondary or middle schools were designed to impart special training to those who would not study further, and to prepare students for entrance to the university. To train the large numbers of teachers required for the elementary schools, teacher training schools were established. As the need arose, a number of special schools such as commercial institutes were established as well.

Gender equality in education was most visible in the elementary level, but was less in higher level state-run educational institutions. Education of girls differed little from that of boys in the first years of schooling, except for an emphasis on the qualities of a homemaker for girls. This emphasis became stronger in the later years, with intellectual training becoming subordinated to it. The state started the provision for university training for women only in 1902. However, the provision made for girls in the public school system from its inception was an important first step and showed that the attitude of the state was that of an all-inclusive education for nation building.

Education was under government control initially. However, in response to a decade of growing dissatisfaction with a state controlled educational system the Education Act was revised in 1879. The new ordinance outlined education principles in general terms, allowing local prefectures to apply the general principles according to local rules and decisions. The government encouraged the establishment of private schools. Education under the Christian mission was also encouraged. Even before the government removed the two centuries old ban on Christianity, some British and American Protestant missionaries had been well received. In 1875, the founding of Doshisha English School (later Doshisha University) in Kyoto marked the beginning of Christian education by Japanese converts. Five additional Christian

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schools and colleges had been founded by 1890. By the end of the Meiji Period, almost everyone had attended the free public schools for at least six years.

Despite the remarkable traits, however, many mistakes were made. School laws had to be altered several times. Much of the training was superficial. Nevertheless, with all its deficiencies the new education system must be considered astonishingly good keeping in view the newness of the problem and the enormity of the task, and when the other national problems demanding simultaneous solution were pressing. Introduction of public education from the beginning of the Meiji Era certainly played a major role in her unusually rapid economic progress.

A high literacy rate and strong public interest and curiosity to know about the West and Japan's imperialist adventure fueled the growth of publication industry. Privately financed newspapers and magazines competed with one another for broader readership. By the 1880s, there emerged distinct categories of newspapers, with some retaining a strong editorial and news content, while others catered to a less informed public, becoming in effect Japan's first tabloids. Following the growth of publication, the government enacted strict censorship law.

Social and Cultural Changes

When the West forced upon Japan in the late Tokugawa Period, the initial domestic reaction was anti-foreign. The samurai clan leaders vociferously criticized the soft foreign policy of the Tokugawa shogunate and harboured hatred towards the imperialists. However, to avoid the fate of China, when the same samurai groups formed the government in the Meiji Era, they decided to learn from the West. The new leadership was fully convinced that in the face of superior gun power of the West, a collision with them would be futile. Therefore, voluntary cooperation seemed to be a better strategy than involuntary submission to the imperialist designs of the West. With this rationale, the new leadership embraced all-out Westernization.

Although, economic and military modernization plays a major role in augmenting a nation's strength, socio-political stability is an essential factor in maintaining and furthering national strength. Unless citizens are united by a sense of national identity, all development can be in jeopardy. The Meiji reformers were aware of this fact. At the beginning of the Meiji Period, the sole purpose of the reformers was nation building through economic and military modernization. In the process, they had to tear down the age-old social customs and traditions with which ordinary Japanese had identified themselves for centuries. Therefore, the government treaded cautiously, pursuing an aggressive Westernization on the one hand, and on the other hand, trying to minimize the cultural shock by invoking traditional Japanese notions as a shield for its policies and creating a national ideology. The Meiji leaders tactfully used the emperor as a link between the past and the present and for a psychological impact to invoke a spirit of nationalism. The call to 'revere the emperor' and giving Shinto religion, which promoted emperor

worship, the status of a state religion were two most visible manifestation of this policy.

The spirit of the government's all out Westernization in the social and cultural field can be gauged from the slogan 'Bunmei Kaika' (Civilization and Enlightenment). The Meiji leaders went to the extreme of equating Westernization with civilization, and considered that the aping of Western culture would civilize Japan. The slogan essentially meant outright copying of the West. The obsessive adoption of everything Western was trendy in urban areas and was more popular among city elites. The countryside remained largely untouched by the trend. Western influence manifested itself in all aspects of social and cultural life in Meiji Japan. Western ideas influenced Japanese intellectual and artistic works. The translation of foreign books from all fields became a regular feature of Japanese intellectual exercise. Like literature, the performing arts and architecture also came under Western influence. Learning European languages became a craze among the city dwellers.

Westernization showed up impressively in everyday life in Japan. The new government abolished the hierarchical social structure in 1871, introduced universal conscription in 1873 and started demolishing daimyo castles in 1873. Since class distinctions were done away with, the government decided to do away with the visible symbols of class identity. The former samurai had to cut their topknots and stop carrying two swords. Only sumo wrestlers were permitted to continue with the traditional hairstyle. The tradition of women shaving their eyebrows and blackening their teeth became obsolete. Western-style hairstyle became the vogue. Western formal attire such as top hat and frock coat for men and formal gown for women became popular among Japanese elites, supplemented by accessories like European-style umbrella and pocket watch. Soon an industry developed to manufacture these goods in Japan. People incorporated drinking milk and milk product such as cheese in their food habit. Sugar also became popular. Industrialization and trade also had an effect on the everyday life of people. Edibles and beverages that were primarily home-made and consumed only on special occasions earlier became regular in daily life. Tea and sake, for example, became a staple in Japanese society due to industrialization of these commodities. Large-scale production of alcoholic beverages gave rise to local pubs and pub culture. A new, transformed Japanese society emerged as a result.

Before the West opened Japan up in 1854, movement within the country was limited. While the daimyos travelled to the capital city every alternate year, communication within daimyo domains was scarce. As a result, in case of a poor harvest or natural disaster in a particular region, no help came from other regions. All such calamities resulted in a huge loss of life. The Meiji reforms resulted in an end to the feudal barriers. Besides, the opening to the outside world ensured the importation of necessary commodities in the face of food shortages and other needs.

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As noted earlier, to inculcate Western culture, the government had to invalidate the native social mores. The process was not without hiccups. The identity of the Japanese was closely associated with clans and social echelon by tradition. In the social hierarchy, the samurai class was ahead of peasants for centuries. The sudden change brought in by the Meiji Restoration angered the samurai as well as the peasants. The disbandment of the samurai as the warrior class created a vacuum among the samurai. The samurai had no other skill to support a livelihood. Besides, as peasants and traders were lower to them in the social hierarchy, the samurai class found it below their dignity to engage in either agriculture or trade. After the introduction of universal conscription, samurai soldiers often refused to share space in army barracks with peasant soldiers. Peasants did not welcome the sudden change of occupation either. An important change in the lives of the peasants can be attributed to the new land tax of 1873. Many peasants migrated to urban areas in search of livelihood. While the migrated villagers were a cheap labour force for urban industry, their family life became unsettled. However, the new state weathered the domestic disorder quickly and successfully implemented a wide range of political, economic, military, social and cultural policies.

However, after a decade of vigorous Westernization, the pace slowed down. Not all Japanese thought their culture so inferior that Japan had to discard everything Japanese. From early 1870s, Japanese intellectuals engaged in intense debates over the fundamental issue of Westernization. Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nishimura Shigeki, Nakamura Masanao, Nishi Amane, Shimoda Utako, Uchimura Kanzo, Kotoku Shusui are some of the important figures in the debate. Consequently, the government adjusted its policy in the 1880s. In due course, Meiji reforms and Westernization proved successful, as within decades Japan became so powerful that it set off on a journey towards imperialism.

Check Your Progress

3. What made the emperor hesitate on his demand on the continuation of the sakoku foreign policy?
4. How did the British government retaliate for the murder of Charles Lennox Richardson?
5. Which changes resulted in the political agitation coming to a conclusion in early 1867?
6. Why did the western clans not want Tokugawa Yoshinobu to be chosen as the chief adviser to the emperor under the new regime?
7. What had been the idea of the Restoration movement?
8. On what combination was the new constitution built upon?
9. How did Japan establish itself as an ally of the Western powers?
10. What was 'Shokusan Kogyo'?
11. What was the Conscription Law?

7.4 RISE OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

Conscious attempts to alter China's Confucian way of life had started after China lost the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Reformers from the Confucian scholar official circle endorsed Western learning for practical knowledge, keeping intact the traditional way of life. China's repeated defeats against imperialist nations and Japan's victory against the very same imperialist powers brought about a striking change in the thinking of Chinese intellectual and political circles.

The New Culture Movement (Xin Wenhua Yundong)

In 1898, reformers such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao proposed to break away from the Confucian tradition. China's humiliation in the hands of the eight-nation allied forces during the Boxer Rebellion exposed the demerits of orthodox Confucian notions and Chinese traditional military strategies in a changed world scenario. The Revolution of 1911 was in essence a political revolt. The revolutionaries believed that a changed political system would result in China becoming stronger. However, the realities of the first few years proved otherwise. Before 1912, many blamed the moral and political corruption of the Manchu rule and a monarchic system for China's misfortune. The political change did not bring in desired changes in China. Consequently, a section of Chinese intellectuals engaged in introspection. Convinced that political change would be ineffective unless China's Confucian tradition was replaced, they called for a rejection of traditional values and creation of a new culture by inculcating some aspects of Western culture such as science and democracy. This intellectual ferment is known as the New Culture Movement.

In the midst of the depressing socio-political environment of the day, warlordism played a positive role in the New Culture Movement. Though all warlords only cared about their own interest, the southern warlords did promote anti-imperialistic nationalistic feelings during their campaign against the northern warlords. While the warlords were masters of the territory over which they ruled, no one among them was strong enough to unify China militarily. The northern warlords did try hard to capture the centre of power, as they were closer to Beijing. On the other hand, capturing Beijing was not possible for the southern warlords. Therefore, promoting nationalistic ideas in their regions was not detrimental to the interest of the southern warlords. In fact, they often used nationalistic ideas to project themselves as national heroes.

The scope of the New Culture Movement was wide. The movement called for rejection of Confucian ideas, values and institutions such as patriarchal social and family norms and the prevailing norm of creating a past-oriented literature on a limited number of themes written in a classical language, etc. The New Culture Movement also called for rejection of the view that China was culturally unique. Chinese intellectuals envisioned a Chinese culture in which reason would replace

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customs, and individual freedom would replace familial and social authority. In a decisive break with the tradition, the movement promoted a new literature with new and diversified themes written in the language of the people. The movement called for the re-examination of ancient classics using modern textual and critical methods (known as the Doubting Antiquity School) and promoted democratic, scientific and egalitarian values including women's liberation and individual freedom. The leading intellectuals of the day promoted all these values in their writings to create a future-orientated vernacular literature.

Almost all the advocates of the New Culture Movement were associated with Beijing University. These revolutionary intellectuals had been publishing articles in a number of newspapers and journals within and outside China espousing and experimenting with new ideas to salvage China since the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the beginning of the movement was the launching of a journal called *The Youth* (later named *The New Youth*) in Shanghai in 1915. Chen Duxiu, an experienced revolutionary and former Tongmeng Hui member was the founder editor of the journal. It started as an intellectual response to President Yuan Shikai's acceptance of Japan's Twenty-one Demands.



Fig 7.4 Chen Duxiu

(*Source:* <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Chen2.jpg>)

Literary establishments such as publishing houses and journals, and scholastic institutes such as literary societies and universities across China provided a base for dynamic literary and other intellectual activities. The *New Youth* journal was the principal medium for deliberating the causes of China's weaknesses. Around 300 intellectuals published their works in the *New Youth*. They included Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu, Cai Yuanpei, Li Dazhao, Zhou Zuoren and many other like-minded intellectuals who were at the forefront of the movement. Gradually a number of literary societies came up. The most famous ones were established during the May Fourth era including *Chuangzao She* (the *Creation Society*, 1921–29), *Moming*

She (the Unnamed Society, 1925–30) and Xinyue She (the Crescent Moon Society, 1923–31). During this time a large number of magazines also sprang up to spread new thoughts. In an article titled ‘*Some Tentative Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature*’, published simultaneously in *The Quarterly* (published by overseas Chinese students in America) and *The Youth* on January 1, 1917, Dr. Hu Shi laid down eight principles, setting the trend of new literature in China.

Language played a very important role in the New Culture Movement. For more than two thousand years, classical Chinese language (wenyan) had been the sole medium of education, literature and official communication. Only scholars could understand and use the language. For this reason, education and literary activities were limited to a handful of people. Literature written in vernacular Chinese (baihua) was not accepted as pure. Dramas and novels, which were written in vernacular Chinese, were considered as vulgar. The New Culture Movement attacked this tradition. Hu Shi proclaimed ‘A dead language cannot produce a living literature.’ The movement vehemently promoted the use of vernacular Chinese in all written communication. This move finally allowed people with little education to enjoy literature and gain knowledge by reading. Lu Xun’s short story, *The Madman’s Diary* (Kuangren Riji) is considered the first piece of literature written in vernacular Chinese in 1918. The New Culture Movement and other new ideological trends reached their peaks in 1919 after the May Fourth Movement.

The May Fourth Movement (Wusi Yundong)

When the news of the government’s sellout to Japan and other imperialist injustices during the Paris Peace Conference leaked out, it outraged the Chinese people. China was no more a country of passive people of oppressed peasants. The New Culture Movement was in full swing. Therefore, the reaction against the Treaty of Versailles was very strong. A massive student protest broke out in Beijing against the pro-Japan government of China and the government of imperialist Japan on May 4, 1919, earning the movement its name, the May Fourth Movement. On that day, thousands of Chinese college and school students marched in Beijing to protest the possible signing of the Treaty of Versailles. During their demonstration, students broke into the house of a pro-Japan minister, set fire to the house, and beat up the Chinese minister to Tokyo. The government arrested a number of student protesters. But, the student activism, coupled with reformist intellectual currents, blossomed into a national awakening. Traders in Shanghai and other cities closed their shops in support of the students. People were urged to boycott Japanese goods. On the face of strong demonstration of national sentiment by intellectuals, students and merchants, the government released the arrested students and took action against some recognized pro-Japan ministers. Chinese students studying in France besieged the Chinese embassy in Paris to persuade the Chinese delegation members not to sign the treaty. Giving in to the pressure, the Chinese delegation returned home without signing the peace treaty.

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Fig 7.5 Students burning Japanese books during the May Fourth Movement

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Burn_Japanese_goods,_Tsinghua_School,_1919.jpg)

China declared the end of its war against Germany in September 1919 and signed a separate treaty with Germany in 1921. The Western imperialist powers also realized the strength of Chinese nationalism. Although they supported Japan in the Paris Conference, later they advised Japan to return Shandong to China. During the Washington Naval Conference (also known as Washington Arms Conference and Washington Disarmament Conference) of 1921–22, the effects of the Twenty-one Demands were annulled, and Shandong was formally restored to China.

Often, the May Fourth and the New Culture movements are used synonymously. In fact, the May Fourth Movement developed under the intellectual milieu of the New Culture Movement. The call to inject new ideas to rejuvenate China became more popular. The May Fourth Movement was a significant turning point in Chinese history. It was a cultural, political and anti-imperialist movement all at the same time. The movement quickened the break from the Confucian tradition and gave rise to Communism in China. It also turned the cultural orientation of the New Culture Movement into a political one, which in turn, paved the way for the formation of the Communist Party of China.

Significance of the New Culture Movement

The following points outline the significance of the New Culture Movement:

- (i) The New Culture Movement marked the upsurge of Chinese nationalism, out of which new political and intellectual ideas were born. The movement shifted academic, literary and political activities away from the elite intellectual

circle to the common people, giving it a populist orientation. Scholars like Hu Shi termed the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement as Chinese Renaissance.

- (ii) In the literary front, the movement initiated a new kind of literature. New themes, such as evils of tradition, woman's rights, individual freedom and the celebration of life were experimented with. A vast body of literature, known as modern Chinese literature was created. Literary masters such as Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Lao She, Bing Xin and Ding Ling created a sensation with their masterpieces.
- (iii) The literary revolution expanded the availability of all literature written in vernacular languages and created a body of progressive works that introduced and familiarized progressive cultural and scientific ideas to common people, and thus developed awareness among the people.
- (iv) The New Culture Movement fueled literary movements outside China. For example, former Tongmeng Hui member Li Shizeng started a work-study programme in France in the 1910s for Chinese students who would work to support themselves financially, while studying political and philosophical ideologies. The movement later spread to Germany. Thousands of overseas Chinese students enrolled in the programme. Many of these participants later became frontline Communist leaders including Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping.
- (v) The spoken Chinese language was elevated to the position of the national language of China. In 1920, the Ministry of Education proclaimed that, from the fall of the next year, the textbooks for the first two grades in the primary schools were to be written in the national language. In 1922, all the elementary and secondary textbooks were ordered to be rewritten in the national language.
- (vi) Nationalist leaders such as Jiang Jieshi opposed the outright rejection of Chinese tradition and values. Jiang did not support the radicalism of the movement. For this reason, he did not like communists, who traced their root to these movements and drew organizational strength from the radical intellectuals who were product of these movements. This opposition later culminated into a serious civil war in China.

Formation of the Communist Party of China

As you studied previously, realizing that merely the change of the political system was not enough to revitalize the nation, Chinese intellectuals launched the New Culture Movement, under which they called for a critical re-evaluation of the country's cultural inheritance. They advocated a radical change in the philosophical foundation of national life to create a new culture so that the socio-political-economic impediment the country was facing, since the establishment of the Republic of China, could be broken and imperialist connivance against China could be

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effectively confronted. They discussed and debated a number of literary, philosophical and political theories in search of a possible way out to salvage the country's glory. These debates and discussions familiarized communism in China.

The Appeal of Marxist-Leninist Ideology

The success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia played an important role in popularizing communism in China. Like Russia, China had a large number of poor peasants. Chinese intellectuals felt that if the Russian revolution was successful, then a potential Chinese revolution could be successful as well. The Communists in the Soviet Union had also announced that they would give up the imperialist privileges enjoyed by Czarist Russia in China. This gesture endeared some Chinese intellectuals to the Soviet Union and, by extension, the Soviet Union's political ideology.

The May Fourth incident of 1919 had created a politically conscious social force in China. Students, merchants, workers and middle class Chinese were all charged with revolutionary spirit. This made it easy to unite ordinary citizens against foreign imperialism.

The Leninist view that workers, peasants and the middle class of a subjugated country need to form a united front to fight against imperialist powers appealed to Chinese intellectuals. Besides, communism was more concerned with social problems and their solutions compared to democracy and capitalism. Marxist-Leninist ideas of denouncing material benefits and consciously promoting moral values like self-sacrifice for the sake of revolution, party and country and the principle of group unity fitted well with traditional Chinese ideas. Therefore, the illiterate masses could readily accept the new ideology.

The First World War proved that the capitalist system was flawed in that the capitalist countries of Europe fought against each other. The failure of the Western parliamentary democratic system anguished many Chinese. The Versailles Treaty of 1919 that transferred Germany's concessions in China to Japan disappointed the Chinese people. The Chinese viewed the act as grave injustice to China. Intellectuals began to suspect the impartiality of the Western system. Some of them lost confidence in Western political ideas and institutions in general. This situation prompted some intellectuals to seek an alternative political and economic model in communism. Some intellectuals felt that more revolutionary and drastic efforts were required to save China. The situation also instilled a sense of urgency in people to do something to save the motherland.

Founding of the Communist Party of China

In the spring of 1920, a delegation of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International (Comintern) arrived in Beijing to explore the option of setting up a communist party in China. The delegation, led by Grigori Voitinsky, came under the guise of journalists for the Shanghai Chronicles. In 1919, a few

Russian socialists had set up the Shanghai Chronicle in Shanghai. The newspaper was published with financial support from the Russian government.

Some of the intellectuals who were at the forefront of the New Culture Movement formed study groups to study Marxism–Leninism in the late 1910s. For example, Li Dazhao, who worked as a librarian in Beijing University, formed a Marxist study group in Beijing and Chen Duxiu, who worked as dean in Beijing University from 1917 to 1919, formed a similar study group in Shanghai in 1920. More such study groups existed in other cities.

In China, Voitinsky met Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu and other radical intellectuals and discussed the possibility of uniting the informal Marxist study groups into a formal political party. In August 1920, Voitinsky along with the radical intellectuals established the China Branch of the Comintern. The East Asia Secretariat of the Comintern started operating from the Shanghai Chronicle's office. In 1920, a meeting to form a political party was held in Shanghai. As a result of the meeting, Marxist study groups scattered all over China were merged into one united entity, which functioned as an informal political party for almost a year.



Fig. 7.6 *An Artistic Representation of Li Dazhao Meeting Comintern Agent G. N. Voitinsky*

(*Source:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Li_Dazhao_n_comintern_G.N._Voitinsky.jpg)

On July 23, 1921, the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China began in Shanghai. Twelve Chinese delegates representing various Chinese communist groups and two Comintern representatives attended the deliberations. The communists thought that Shanghai was a safe location because the city was a French concession. However, the police got a hint of their meeting in advance. Consequently, the delegates left Shanghai for Jiaxing in Zhejiang Province. To avoid the wrath of the authorities, they pretended to be tourists enjoying boat ride on South Lake, located at the south of Jiaxing. The formal birth of the Communist Party of China was declared onboard. The new party was to act as a branch of the Comintern. Under instructions from the Comintern, the Communist Party of China formed an alliance with the Nationalist Party of China.

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Revival of the Nationalist Party

After the failure of the Second Revolution in 1913 to overthrow President Yuan Shikai and consequent ban on the Nationalist Party by President Yuan, Sun Yat-sen fled to Japan to evade arrest.

The Struggle for Stability

While in Japan, Sun changed the name of the Nationalist Party (Guomindang) to the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Zhonghua Gemingdang) in 1914. All members of the Party were required to take an oath of personal allegiance to Sun Yat-sen. Many former Nationalist Party and Tongmeng Hui members refused to comply with the new rules that required swearing personal allegiance to Sun Yat-sen, as they felt this was against the spirit of democracy and revolution. As a result of this and other stricter rules, the number of members of the Guomindang reduced considerably.

Sun returned to China in 1917. At that time, the Chinese Revolutionary Party lacked organizational and military strength. Hence, it was impossible for Sun to undertake any revolutionary activity by himself. Therefore, he took help from two southern warlord cliques, the Yunnan Clique and the Old Guangxi Clique. These two cliques were in the forefront of anti-Yuan Shikai protest when Yuan declared himself the emperor of China.

When the Beiyang government dissolved the National Assembly because of the restoration of the monarchy on June 13, 1917, Sun requested the members of the National Assembly to come to Canton to save the Provisional Constitution.⁴ On August 25, 1917, around one hundred members of parliament met in Canton and passed a resolution to form a military government in Canton. This government started the Constitutional Protection Movement (Hufa Yundong) to challenge the Beiyang government.

The military government was to be headed by a generalissimo, assisted by three field marshals. On September 1, 1917, the members of the Assembly voted Sun Yat-sen to the post of generalissimo, and selected other administrative team members from among the two military cliques and the National Assembly members. The Old Guangxi Clique soon developed differences with Sun. In May 1918, an administrative restructuring resulted in the replacement of the generalissimo by a seven-member governing committee. After being sidelined by the military government, Sun Yat-sen left Canton for Shanghai. In Shanghai, Sun renamed the Chinese Revolutionary Party the Chinese Nationalist Party or the Nationalist Party of China (Zhongguo Guomindang) on October 10, 1919.⁵ In 1920, a local warlord named Chen Jiongming drove the Old Guangxi Clique out of Canton and restored Sun to power. The remaining members of the 1912 National Assembly elected Sun Yat-sen to the post of president of the restored regime. However, as the number of members who elected Sun Yat-sen was less than the minimum required quorum, Sun Yat-sen's election was not legally binding. Therefore, Sun assumed office as the 'Extraordinary President' in 1921. In 1922, Chen Jiongming and Sun

Yat-sen started developing a difference of opinion. As a result, Chen expelled Sun from Canton in a military operation. With the help of warlord Tang Jiyao, Sun retook Canton in 1923.

Reorganization of the Party

After returning to power and re-establishing the Nationalist government in Canton, Sun Yat-sen turned his attention to strengthening the organization of the Party to carry on the ultimate goal of unification of the country under a strong central government. Sun wanted the Party to be united by a common action plan instead of by personal allegiance to him. He wanted to reorganize the Party and the government on the lines of the Communist Party of Russia. He, therefore, turned to the Comintern for help.

In September 1923, Comintern agent Mikhail Markovich Borodin arrived in China to take charge as the principal adviser to Sun Yat-sen. Borodin stayed in China until 1927 and helped build the loosely structured Nationalist Party into a highly centralized organization with a strong military. The measures to strengthen the Party included re-registration of the members of the old Party and allowing members of the Communist Party of China to take membership of the Nationalist Party as individuals. In 1924, the First National Congress of the Nationalist Party took place.

The Nationalist government's biggest weakness was a lack of a strong army. Sun had to rely on the warlords for military support. Since Sun planned to unify China militarily, the utmost requirement was to build a strong military force. Borodin was instrumental in arranging Soviet aid for raising an army for the Nationalist government. To train able army officers, the Whampoa Military Academy was established at Huangpu in 1924. Sun Yat-sen sent Jiang Jieshi to Moscow to study Soviet political and military systems. Jiang was a comrade-in-arms and a close confidant of Sun. Sun appointed Jiang as the head of the Whampoa Military Academy upon the latter's return to China in 1924. Members of both the Communist and Nationalist parties trained in the Academy. Borodin also arranged for the importation of Soviet armaments for the Nationalist military.

The Philosophy of the Nationalist Party of China

The philosophy of the Nationalist Party of China are documented in the Party manifesto adopted in the First Congress, lectures delivered by Sun Yat-sen at different occasions published as the Three People's Principles (Sanmin Zhuyi), and two other documents titled the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* (Jianguo Fanglüe) and the *Bases of National Reconstruction* (Jianguo Dagang). These documents aimed at instilling a revolutionary zeal in the members to march ahead and unify the country. Sun Yat-sen had been strongly advocating his Three Principles of the People (nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood) as the core of his philosophy since 1905. However, he rewrote some of the concepts in 1924, giving them a new connotation. He also formulated three major policies,

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namely an alliance with Soviet Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party of China and support for the workers' and peasants' movements. These doctrines provided the theoretical base for the alliance between the Nationalists and the Communists in their common mission of rejuvenating the motherland in the latter half of the 1920s. Sun's followers and the Communists did not get along for long. However, both groups claim him to be their own. Both revere Sun Yat-sen as the father of the Chinese nation (Guofu).

Communist-Nationalist Cooperation

Let us study about the Communist-Nationalist cooperation under the following headings.

The First United Front

The common thread between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party was that both had the same goal of ending the warlord menace and unifying the country, and both had the same mentor, the Comintern. The Communist Party was in an infant stage with a small number of members. The number of Nationalist Party members was many folds higher compared to the communists. Neither of them had the strength to unify the country on their own. The need of the day was to form an alliance. Consequently, in 1922, under the guidance of the Comintern, the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party formed a united front, which came to be known as the First United Front. Under the instructions of the Comintern, chief communist leaders Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu took membership of the Nationalist Party in 1922. Li Dazhao became a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party in 1924.

In 1925, the two parties formed a joint armed force, the National Revolutionary Army (Guomin Geming Jun) with Soviet assistance. The majority of the army's officers graduated from the Whoampo Military Academy. The first two batches of graduates from the Academy formed the core regiments of the National Revolutionary Army. Jiang Jieshi, the head of the Whoampo Military Academy was the natural choice for the position of commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army. Jiang also took charge as the generalissimo of the Nationalist Party after the death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925.

The Northern Expedition

As early as 1917, Sun Yat-sen had planned to launch an expedition to northern China to expel the northern warlords and broaden the base of his government to effectively deal with foreign imperialist forces stationed in China. The nationalist movement Sun Yat-sen had initiated gained momentum after his death. After Sun Yat-sen's death, the Nationalist Party made Sun's plans its main objective. In the summer of 1926, Jiang Jieshi finally launched the Northern Expedition (Beifa) jointly with the Communist Party.

The Russian military adviser to the Nationalist Party Gebhard Leberecht von Blicher was the chief strategic planner of the Northern Expedition. Two columns of the National Revolutionary Army were to charge northwards from its southern base simultaneously, through Hunan and Jiangxi provinces. The first target was Hankou. From Hankou, the Expedition planned to move down the Yangze to Nanjing and Shanghai. From Shanghai, the plan was to move further north towards Beijing along the lines of the Beijing-Hankou and the Tianjin-Pukou railways. Jiang Jieshi was the supreme commander of the operation. He was in direct command of the armies operating through Jiangxi.

Within about nine months, the National Revolutionary Army had conquered half of China. The rapid elimination of the warlords was made possible due to smart strategies followed in the campaign. The National Revolutionary Army carried out extensive propaganda among the peasants and the army of local warlords ahead of each military operation, mobilizing popular support for its cause. A substantial number of warlord forces defected to the National Revolutionary Army as a result. This strengthened the National Revolutionary Army, while weakened the warlord armies.

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Fig. 7.7 Jiang Jieshi Commanding the Northern Expedition in 1926

(**Source:** <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Chiang1926.jpg>)

By the spring of 1927, the National Revolutionary Army had quadrupled in size. It had captured the areas surrounding Wuhan, Nanjing and Shanghai. However, a split occurred within the Nationalist rank and between the Nationalists and the Communists. Even before the start of the Northern Expedition, the Nationalist Party members were divided into left and right wings. While the right wing members were against the formation of alliance with the Communist Party, the left leaning group supported the Communists. However, for the greater national cause, they

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patched up their differences and took on the Northern Expedition. Jiang Jieshi was a right wing Nationalist, while the most prominent left wing Nationalist leader was Wang Jingwei. Within the Communist Party itself, some did not support the Northern Expedition but were bound by Comintern instructions. The newly created Communist Party had not yet been able to consolidate itself. Therefore, the main motive behind the Comintern strategy of forming a united front and allowing dual membership for the Communists was to make use of the Nationalist Party's already established organizational aperture to spread communism in China. The Nationalists, on the other hand, saw this as a means to control the communists from within. Thus, the United Front began operating on an unsustainable ground. Soon, there emerged conflict of interests between the two factions, undermining the United Front.

The Zhongshan Warship Incident (Zhongshan Jian Shijian) of 1926 worsened the alliance, though did not end it. On March 20, 1926, Jiang Jieshi arrested the captain of a gunboat named Zhongshan that was anchored next to the Whampoa Military Academy, seized the warship and declared martial law in Canton. Jiang alleged that Captain Li Zhilong, a Communist Party member, had plotted to kidnap him. Following the incident, Jiang restricted the communists to hold high post in the government. Several left leaning Nationalist leaders went into hiding. After sidelining the Communists and the left leaning Nationalists, Jiang consolidated his position in the Party and the government. However, when Jiang was commanding the Northern Expedition, the leftist influence increased in the Canton government. In an anti-Jiang move, the Central Executive Council removed Jiang from the top post of the Canton government and military, and shifted the capital of the Republic to Wuhan in 1927. Wang Jingwei assumed the post of the president of the Republic on March 20, 1927.



Fig. 7.8 Northern Expedition 1926–27

Jiang Jieshi gave a call to Nationalist members who were opposed to communist influence and Russian dominance in the Wuhan government to join him. The right wing members established a new government in Nanjing under Jiang's leadership in 1927. On April 12, 1927, once troops of the Northern Expedition had entered Shanghai, Jiang Jieshi ordered an all-out purge of the Communists from the Nationalist Party in all areas under Nationalist control. Jiang's forces arrested over a thousand Communists and eliminated around three hundred of them, while more than five thousand went missing. This incident is known as the Shanghai Massacre and White Terror. The incident officially ended the First United Front between the Communists and the Nationalists. Jiang also cracked down on the left-leaning Nationalist faction, flattened the Wuhan government and emerged as the supreme leader of the Nationalist Party and government.

In early 1928, Jiang resumed the Northern Expedition. The National Revolutionary Army marched across the Yellow River and reached Beijing via Manchuria. Jiang defeated the Beiyang regime and captured Beijing in June 1928. After Jiang had defeated most of the northern warlords in battle, some pledged loyalty to Jiang to avoid military conflict. A small number remained independent and engaged Jiang in fighting sporadically until the 1940s, leaving the ultimate objective of the Northern Expedition only partially accomplished. Nevertheless, the Northern Expedition was an important feat in that Jiang Jieshi was able to unify the country under a centralized structure. After capturing Beijing, the Nationalist Party led Jiang Jieshi Government got international recognition as the legitimate government of the Republic of China.

The Second United Front

The purge of the Communists in 1927 resulted in a civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party. During the civil war with the communists, Jiang had to instigate one warlord against another or appease them to gain their support for maintaining political stability in areas under his control. Meanwhile, Japan was advancing her imperialist activities in China. The Japanese particularly wanted Manchuria. Jiang Jieshi thus had to handle sporadic attacks by communist forces, warlord politics and an immediate Japanese imperialist threat all at the same time. However, survival issues took precedence over tackling the Japanese advance in China.

Following the unification of most of China during the Northern Expedition and the establishment of a central government in Beijing, Japan became apprehensive at the prospect of the Jiang government unifying Manchuria, hampering Japanese economic interests. Manchuria was under the rule of warlord Zhang Zuolin of the Fengtian Clique. He maintained a conciliatory relationship with the Japanese while retaining his independence. In 1928, following Zhang Zuolin's assassination by the Japanese, his son Zhang Xueliang took over. During the Northern Expedition, Zhang Xueliang pledged allegiance to Jiang Jieshi. Zhang Xueliang's alliance with the Nationalist government was a cause of much worry

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for Japan. In an aggressive move, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. Zhang Xueliang was disappointed by the Nationalist Party's lack of action against the Japanese aggression. In December 1936, Jiang traveled to Xi'an tracking the Communists. Zhang Xueliang assisted him in this expedition. However, when they reached Xi'an on December 12, Zhang arrested Jian and demanded that Jiang take action against the Japanese invaders in Manchuria. This incident is known as the Xi'an Incident (Xi'an Shibian). Jiang was released on December 25, 1936 after agreeing to take action against the Japanese for their aggression in Manchuria.⁷



Fig 7.9 Japanese Forces Entering a City in Manchuria in 1931

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:IJA_Forces_in_Manchuria.jpg)

Jiang was originally firmly against any alliance with the Communists. However, the Xi'an incident convinced him of the need to take action against the Japanese. It also contributed to the establishment of the Second United Front. The Communists agreed to form the Second United Front under pressure from Soviet Russia. The Russians wanted the Communists and the Nationalists to form an alliance because of Russia's international concerns, particularly the growth of Nazi Germany and Japan.

The alliance remained an uneasy one throughout the military campaign against Japan. It was more of a truce than an alliance. The Nationalists fought on the front line against the Japanese, while the Communists engaged in guerrilla warfare with little open confrontation with the Japanese. These different strategies resulted in heavy casualties for the Nationalist forces while the communist forces were little

affected. In 1941, the hostilities between the two sides resurfaced. The Second United Front broke down completely after war against the Japanese ended with the end of the Second World War.

The Nanjing Decade

The Nanjing Decade (Nanjing Shinian) began in 1927 when Jiang Jieshi established the capital of the Nationalist government in Nanjing. The decade ended with the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japan. Jiang could not suppress all the warlords during the Northern Expedition of 1926-1928. However, since Jiang was able to unify most of China and the Nationalist government was recognized by foreign powers as the only legal government of China, the Nationalist government considered the military campaign as being over. Jiang announced that in accordance with Sun Yat-sen's prescription for revolution, the first of the three stages of revolution (military unification, political tutelage and constitutional democracy) was complete. Therefore, Jiang concentrated on the reconstruction of the social, political, economic and cultural framework in China.

The Reconstruction Effort

In August 1928, the fifth plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party was held. In October, the Organic Law of the National Government was promulgated. With this, Jiang started the second stage of the revolution, the period of political tutelage under the leadership of the Nationalist Party. As Sun Yat-sen had charted out, under the Organic Law, the Central Political Council supervised the organs of government, composed of the Central Executive Committee members and the members of the Central State Council. The highest organ of the government was the State Council. Under it, a scheme of governmental organization was introduced which embodied Sun's five-power formation of separate administrative branches (Yuan). They were: Executive Yuan, Legislative Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan and Control Yuan. A similar structure was erected for the provincial governments to unify the provincial establishments under the provincial councils. A National People's Convention enacted a provisional constitution on May 12, 1931. The chapters of the provisional constitution elaborately specified the rules and regulation of the Republic. The period of political tutelage for the Chinese people to prepare them for democracy continued supposedly until 1935.

However, the efforts of the Jiang Jieshi government to reconstruct the nation were retarded due to political vulnerability of the time. Although the country was officially under the Nationalist rule, in effect Jiang Jieshi only controlled the provinces at the mouth of the Yangze River. Other provinces were under various warlords, with whom the Nationalist government had unreliable alliance. Besides, the 1927 purge did not wipe out the Communists. They had merely gone away from the cities, and in fact grown stronger. Some left-leaning military officers still remained within Jiang's right-wing Nationalist Party. Although they did not oppose the new

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developments openly, they did not like it and mostly remained neutral. Therefore, the government spent much of its energy just for its survival.

Nevertheless, in the midst of a highly volatile socio-political situation and threats to its survival, the Nationalist government managed some constructive achievements. The government developed a national anthem and a new flag. The government put emphasis on economic modernization. It also encouraged setting up of factories. Other measures included nationalization of banks, centralization of the railway administration and introduction of a new education system. The government constituted commissions with foreign aid including the League of Nations for studying various socio-economic issues including public health, education and opium control. In the legal and judicial field, many Western style courts and prisons were constructed. However, the Jiang government's achievements were most remarkable in the field of foreign affairs. The government was able to revise some provisions of the unequal treaties and was able to mitigate some of the foreign concessions in China.

The New Life Movement

For a long time, the Chinese political and bureaucratic circles had been besieged with corruption and factionalism. The common people were chronically addicted to opium; they were prone to commit crime and were also disease prone due to their drug addiction and poverty. In 1927, Jiang Jieshi set up a separate department to promote moral and ideological reform. The campaign aimed to build up the morale of the country. In 1934, the scope of the campaign was broadened and came to be known as the New Life Movement (Xin Shenghuo Yundong). The movement combined components of traditional Confucian values and Western mannerisms. While rejecting individualism, the campaign also rejected socialist and communist ideals.

Hundreds of groups were formed to diffuse the values of the Movement to the people. Its volunteers educated the common Chinese on general hygiene and discipline as well as their duties towards the nation. The campaign urged people to show courtesy and politeness to neighbours, keep streets clean, follow rules set by the government, be punctual at work, be compassionate to fellow human beings, contribute to nation building by conserving energy, etc.

A section of the Nationalists viewed the inclusion of Confucian morality and self-cultivation as contrary to the teachings of Sun Yat-sen. The Communists viewed the campaign as fundamentally anti-communist in its values to counter the spread of communism. Some appreciated Jiang's attempt to raise the quality of life through the Movement, while others criticized him for misplacing the priorities by setting lofty ideals that were out of sync with the immediate concerns of the distressed general populace.

Check Your Progress

12. What was the May Fourth Movement?
13. What made uniting ordinary citizens against foreign imperialism easy?
14. Which situation prompted some intellectuals to seek an alternative political and economic model in communism?
15. What was the biggest mistake of the Nationalist government?
16. Which three major policies were formulated by Sun Yat-sen?
17. What was the common thread between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party?
18. What resulted in a civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party?

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7.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Yoshida Doctrine was a post-war strategy which showed that Japan relied heavily on the United States for its security needs and was formulated by the Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida.
2. China had asserted control over Tibet, which created worldwide uprising in Lhasa. Therefore, the United States and the United Nations criticized Beijing for human rights abuses in Tibet.
3. Two incidents, within a short span of each other in 1863–64 involving the two great western clans of Satsuma and Choshu, made the emperor hesitate on his demand on the continuation of the sakoku foreign policy.
4. In retaliation for the murder of Charles Lennox Richardson, British warships attacked the Satsuma domain and bombarded the Satsuma capital of Kagoshima in 1863.
5. Two changes at the top political circle in early 1867 resulted in the political agitation coming to a conclusion. First, Emperor Komei died, and his fourteen-year-old son Prince Mutsuhito ascended to the throne. Second, the former regent to the shogun, Tokugawa Yoshunobu became the fifteenth shogun.
6. Tokugawa Yoshinobu did not want to be chosen as the chief adviser to the emperor under the new regime: firstly, they hated the Tokugawa clan; secondly, they had power ambitions for their own clans; and thirdly, they were pro-emperor and still anti-foreign.

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7. The idea of the Restoration movement had been a return to practices and institutions of the Nara period as much as a reorganization of the country based on new ideas imported from Europe.
8. The new constitution was built upon a combination of the Restoration idea (that the emperor was the source of all power and the dispenser of all favours) and the feudal idea (that the real power was exercised for the emperor by others, either agents or agencies).
9. Japan established itself as an ally of the Western powers by signing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902.
10. The Meiji rulers chose the market economy as the mode of economic development and vigorously promoted economic development with the motto 'Shokusan Kogyo' (Increase Production, Promote Industry).
11. According to the Conscription Law, all Japanese males over twenty-three years of age were required to serve a seven-year military service in the regular army, with four more years in the reserve.
12. A massive student protest broke out in Beijing against the pro-Japan government of China and the government of imperialist Japan on May 4, 1919, earning the movement its name, the May Fourth Movement. It was a cultural, political and anti-imperialist movement all at the same time.
13. The May Fourth incident of 1919 had created a politically conscious social force in China. Students, merchants, workers and middle class Chinese were all charged with revolutionary spirit. This made it easy to unite ordinary citizens against foreign imperialism.
14. The Versailles Treaty of 1919 that transferred Germany's concessions in China to Japan disappointed the Chinese people. The Chinese viewed the act as grave injustice to China. Intellectuals began to suspect the impartiality of the Western system. Some of them lost confidence in Western political ideas and institutions in general. This situation prompted some intellectuals to seek an alternative political and economic model in communism.
15. The Nationalist government's biggest weakness was a lack of a strong army.
16. Sun Yat-sen formulated three major policies, namely an alliance with Soviet Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party of China and support for the workers' and peasants' movements.
17. The common thread between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party was that both had the same goal of ending the warlord menace and unifying the country, and both had the same mentor, the Comintern.
18. The purge of the Communists in 1927 resulted in a civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party.

7.6 SUMMARY

- The US foreign policy is shaped by two important internal processes: a mass consumerist mentality of the people that is deeply pervaded through the American subculture and a coherent policy of strengthening global military capacity to ensure universal access to resources, energy, natural resources and credit.
- The U.S. Japan Mutual Security Treaty was a ten-year agreement that showed as to how it would allow the US forces to remain present and still hold its dominance even after Japan had gained sovereignty. Earlier this agreement was joined with the Yoshida Doctrine.
- It was in the year 1967 when the then Prime Minister Eisaku Sato established the Three Non-Nuclear Principles—no possession, production, or introduction. Japan was seen to rely heavily on the USA military and its nuclear abilities. But later on, the alliance was changed. In 1970s, the United States withdrew from Vietnam and Japan.
- When China had asserted control over Tibet, worldwide uprising occurred in Lhasa. The United States and the United Nations criticized Beijing for human rights abuses in Tibet. Further, in the year 1964, China conducted its first test of an atomic bomb. In March 1969, Sino-Soviet border conflict took place. The first public indication of warming relations between Washington and Beijing occurred when China’s ping-pong team invited members of the U.S. team to China on April 6, 1971. Few years later, Congress approved the Taiwan Relations Act.
- The U.S. President Bill Clinton signed the U.S. China Relations Act of 2000 in October that eventually led to permanent normal trade relations with Beijing and made the way for China to join the World Trade Organization in the year 2001. During the period from 1980 to 2004, U.S. China trade rose from \$5 billion to \$231 billion.
- The Meiji Restoration is one of the major turning points in Japanese history.
- The opening of the country by force revealed the weaknesses of the dual system of government. The Shogun was in charge of foreign policy, but hesitated to take decision on matters related to opening the country to foreigners in the 1850s.
- Officials in the shogun’s council knew that it was not wise to go against the wishes of the Western powers.
- Commodore Perry had already exhibited the military might of the West with his fleet of four ‘black ships’. Officials in the shogun’s council knew that it was not wise to go against the wishes of the Western powers.

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- The Satsuma and Choshu clan members dominated key positions in the court at Kyoto at this time.
- Several incidents involving foreigners occurred that had an immediate impact on domestic policies and the foreign relations of Japan.
- After the treaties were signed, the shogunate was under pressure to dispel the foreigners from Japan. Under such circumstances, the shogunate used every possible means to prolong the implementation of the treaty stipulations.
- Emperor Komei (reigned 1846–1867), who now began to take an active role in administration, issued an order in early 1863 to expel the ‘foreign barbarians’. Facing pressure of the anti-foreign mood in the high office, the Shogun finally issued a secret order for the expulsion of the foreigners.
- From 1866, the Choshu and Satsuma clans forged alliances and began to develop their relationships with the Western powers, using these contacts to strengthen and modernize their armed forces.
- Two changes at the top political circle in early 1867 resulted in the political agitation coming to a conclusion. First, Emperor Komei died, and his fourteen-year-old son Prince Mutsuhito ascended to the throne. Second, the former regent to the shogun, Tokugawa Yoshunobu became the fifteenth shogun.
- Some of the daimyos, like the Lord of Tosa, whose aim was to preserve the shogunate together with his own position, tried to work out a conservative coalition in close association with the imperial court.
- In 1867, a joint memorandum by the daimyos of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen was sent to the Shogun requesting that the actual power be restored to the emperor.
- In view of the danger being constantly exerted against Japan from the outside, even the strongest branch families of the Tokugawa clan, the daimyos of Owari and Echizen, supported the move. Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu responded to the memorandum by abdicating his position. The Tokugawa shogunate ended officially in November 1867.
- Those who had interests in maintaining the shogunate supported the Shogun. The ensuing civil war, known as the Boshin War, was brief and decisive. The last Tokugawa shogun surrendered at Edo, and went off into exile in Ezo (present day Hokkaido). Thus, the Meiji Restoration was militarily complete.
- In 1868, a new regime was established in Japan. The imperial capital was moved from Kyoto to Edo, where the emperor moved into the old palace of the shogun and also renamed Edo to Tokyo. The new regime was given a period name, which would also be the name of the young emperor, Meiji (Enlightened Rule).

- The Meiji Restoration brought an end to the dual administration system by the shogunate and the imperial court, and abolished the institutions of the shogunate and the han.
- In April, the government issued a Five-Charter Oath in the emperor's name declaring the general aims of the new government. In 1869, all daimyos returned their respective domain land and population register to the emperor.
- In 1873, Meiji leaders Okubo Toshimichi, Kido Takayoshi, Itagaki Taisuke, Ito Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru and others met in Osaka to discuss the formation of a representative assembly. This conference resulted in the reorganization of the government with the establishment of an independent judiciary and appointment of a Chamber of Elders (Genroin) tasked with reviewing proposals for a legislature.
- The seven-chapter Meiji Constitution was promulgated in 1889. The new constitution was built upon a combination of the Restoration idea (that the emperor was the source of all power and the dispenser of all favours) and the feudal idea (that the real power was exercised for the emperor by others, either agents or agencies).
- A new feature of the constitutional system was the representative assembly called the Diet. Its powers, functions and relations to the other parts of the system were set forth in the third chapter of the constitution. The Diet was made up of two houses: the Upper House and the Lower House.
- Japan's neighbours came to be both inspired and threatened by her rapid modernization, but could not immediately emulate its success.
- Japan's smaller size made it easier for a strong central government to control regional rivals. In terms of land area, China is approximately twenty five times larger than Japan. Therefore, compared to China, Japan could be administered with relative ease.
- The political revolution of the Meiji Restoration that began in the Meiji Period (1868–1912) ushered in an era of major political, economic, military and social change. The policies of the Meiji government brought about modernization and Westernization in Japan. Although the main motive behind the Meiji Restoration was clan rivalry for political control, the result was revolutionary.
- Japan's ability to learn fast from the West and transform itself into a modern country at par with the West earned the respect of the imperialist powers that were present in Japan. As a result, the unequal treaties that had granted foreign powers judicial and economic privileges through extraterritoriality were revised in 1894.
- As an imperialist country, Japan gave competition to imperialist Russia's territorial ambition in the East Asian region. Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) established her as a world power.

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- The Meiji rulers chose the market economy as the mode of economic development and vigorously promoted economic development with the motto ‘Shokusan Kogyo’ (Increase Production, Promote Industry).
- From the inception, the government concentrated on developing the defence industry. The government also kept important sectors like strategic security, transport and communication under its control. The railway and telegraph, for example, were nationalized as soon as they could be.
- Japan’s victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and over Russia in Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 gave a new fillip to the development of capitalism in Japan.
- The government put obstacles to foreign intervention in the Japanese economy as much as possible by discouraging large-scale foreign investment, avoiding taking foreign loans and by buying back foreign-owned industrial undertakings.
- The new regime’s objective for military reform was expressed in its slogan ‘Fukoku Kyohei’ (variously translated as ‘Enrich the Nation, Strengthen the Army’ and ‘Prosperous Nation, Strong Army’). Initially, the imperial government had to rely on troops furnished by the western clans. However, soon it began to organize an independent force. In 1873, the army was nationalized and universal service was introduced, eliminating feudal and class ideas under the Conscription Law.
- Masujiro Omura, one of the architects of modern Japanese army, established Japan’s first military academy in Kyoto in 1868. Japanese cadets were sent to military schools in Europe and United States for training. In 1872, Yamagata Aritomo and Saigo Tsugumichi founded the Corps of the Imperial Guards with recruits from Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa clans.
- In 1878, Yamagata issued a set of instructions titled *Admonition to the Military*, emphasizing unquestioned loyalty to the emperor. Soldiers were asked to cultivate a traditional militarist spirit. In this way, the authoritarian and militarist ideas of the feudal past were maintained in the armed forces.
- A ministry of education was established in 1871 to chart out the process of building a national system of education. As early as in 1872, the Japanese adopted the principle of compulsory elementary education and initiated establishment of a system of public schools.
- Gender equality in education was most visible in the elementary level, but was less in higher level state-run educational institutions. Education of girls differed little from that of boys in the first years of schooling, except for an emphasis on the qualities of a homemaker for girls. This emphasis became stronger in the later years, with intellectual training becoming subordinated to it.

- At the beginning of the Meiji Period, the sole purpose of the reformers was nation building through economic and military modernization. In the process, they had to tear down the age-old social customs and traditions with which ordinary Japanese had identified themselves for centuries.
- The spirit of the government's all out Westernization in the social and cultural field can be gauged from the slogan 'Bunmei Kaika' (Civilization and Enlightenment).
- Westernization showed up impressively in everyday life in Japan. The new government abolished the hierarchical social structure in 1871, introduced universal conscription in 1873 and started demolishing daimyo castles in 1873.
- Before the West opened Japan up in 1854, movement within the country was limited. The Meiji reforms resulted in an end to the feudal barriers. Besides, the opening to the outside world ensured the importation of necessary commodities in the face of food shortages and other needs.
- In 1898, reformers such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao proposed to break away from the Confucian tradition.
- In the midst of the depressing socio-political environment of the day, warlordism played a positive role in the New Culture Movement.
- The New Culture Movement called for rejection of Confucian ideas, values and institutions such as patriarchal social and family norms and the prevailing norm of creating a past-oriented literature on a limited number of themes written in a classical language, etc. The New Culture Movement also called for rejection of the view that China was culturally unique.
- A massive student protest broke out in Beijing against the pro-Japan government of China and the government of imperialist Japan on May 4, 1919, earning the movement its name, the May Fourth Movement. On that day, thousands of Chinese college and school students marched in Beijing to protest the possible signing of the Treaty of Versailles.
- China declared the end of its war against Germany in September 1919 and signed a separate treaty with Germany in 1921. The Western imperialist powers also realized the strength of Chinese nationalism. Although they supported Japan in the Paris Conference, later they advised Japan to return Shandong to China.
- The May Fourth Movement was a significant turning point in Chinese history. It was a cultural, political and anti-imperialist movement all at the same time. The movement quickened the break from the Confucian tradition and gave rise to Communism in China.
- The New Culture Movement marked the upsurge of Chinese nationalism, out of which new political and intellectual ideas were born. The movement

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shifted academic, literary and political activities away from the elite intellectual circle to the common people, giving it a populist orientation.

- The May Fourth incident of 1919 had created a politically conscious social force in China. Students, merchants, workers and middle class Chinese were all charged with revolutionary spirit. This made it easy to unite ordinary citizens against foreign imperialism.
- The Versailles Treaty of 1919 that transferred Germany's concessions in China to Japan disappointed the Chinese people. The Chinese viewed the act as grave injustice to China. Intellectuals began to suspect the impartiality of the Western system.
- Some of the intellectuals who were at the forefront of the New Culture Movement formed study groups to study Marxism–Leninism in the late 1910s.
- On July 23, 1921, the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China began in Shanghai. Twelve Chinese delegates representing various Chinese communist groups and two Comintern representatives attended the deliberations. The communists thought that Shanghai was a safe location because the city was a French concession.
- After the failure of the Second Revolution in 1913 to overthrow President Yuan Shikai and consequent ban on the Nationalist Party by President Yuan, Sun Yat-sen fled to Japan to evade arrest.
- In September 1923, Comintern agent Mikhail Markovich Borodin arrived in China to take charge as the principal adviser to Sun Yat-sen. Borodin stayed in China until 1927 and helped build the loosely structured Nationalist Party into a highly centralized organization with a strong military.
- The common thread between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party was that both had the same goal of ending the warlord menace and unifying the country, and both had the same mentor, the Comintern.
- In 1922, under the guidance of the Comintern, the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party formed a united front, which came to be known as the First United Front.
- After capturing Beijing, the Nationalist Party led Jiang Jieshi Government got international recognition as the legitimate government of the Republic of China.
- The purge of the Communists in 1927 resulted in a civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party.
- The Nanjing Decade (Nanjing Shinian) began in 1927 when Jiang Jieshi established the capital of the Nationalist government in Nanjing. The decade ended with the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japan.

- In October, the Organic Law of the National Government was promulgated. Under the Organic Law, the Central Political Council supervised the organs of government, composed of the Central Executive Committee members and the members of the Central State Council.

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7.7 KEY WORDS

- **Meiji Restoration:** It is, in Japanese history, the political revolution in 1868 that brought about the final demise of the Tokugawa shogunate (military government)—thus ending the Edo (Tokugawa) period (1603–1867)—and, at least nominally, returned control of the country to direct imperial rule under Mutsuhito (the emperor Meiji).
- **Shogun:** It was hereditary commander-in-chief in feudal Japan. Because of the military power concentrated in his hands and the consequent weakness of the nominal head of state (the mikado or emperor), the shogun was generally the real ruler of the country until feudalism was abolished in 1867.
- **Barbarians:** It refers to the people not belonging to one of the great civilizations.
- **Imperialism:** It is a policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means.
- **Warlord:** It is a military commander, especially an aggressive regional commander with individual autonomy.
- **Comintern:** It refers to the Third International, a communist organization (1919–43).

7.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Question

1. Write about the Namamugi Incident and the Kanagawa Incident?
2. What were three major impacts of bombarding the Shimonoseki by the vessels of Britain, France, the Netherlands and the United States?
3. What was the new feature of the constitutional system termed as Diet?
4. How did Japan not fall prey to foreign debt and financial imperialism?
5. What were the impacts of new land tax in Japan?
6. How did the warlordism play a positive role in the New Culture Movement?
7. How did Language play a key role in the New Culture Movement?

8. Write a brief note on the impact of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) on the common people of China.

Long Answer Question

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1. Explain the completion of the Meiji Restoration.
2. Describe the initial changes after the completion of the Meiji Restoration.
3. Compare the Meiji Constitution with the constitution formed by Japan after the Second World War.
4. Which factors were responsible for Japan's rapid change? Explain.
5. 'Although the main motive behind the Meiji Restoration was clan rivalry for political control, the result was revolutionary.' Comment.
6. How was Japan able to keep itself debt free? Explain.
7. Explain the military reforms that took place after the Meiji Restoration.
8. How did the focus of Meiji Japan on universal primary education play a huge role in its development? Explain.
9. What was the New Culture Movement in Chinese Nationalism? Explain.
10. Illustrate the points outlining the significance of the New Culture Movement.
11. Write an essay on the role played by the Comintern in the formation of the Communist Party of China.

7.9 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.

South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.

Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

UNIT 8 ROME-BERLIN-TOKYO AXIS

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Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Objectives
- 8.2 Role of Germany in Axis Power
- 8.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 8.4 Summary
- 8.5 Key Words
- 8.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 8.7 Further Readings

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was the alliance between Italy, Germany, and Japan who fought against Allied forces in World War II. Officials from Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan signed the ten-year Tripartite Pact. The pact was the military alliance which asked for cooperation among the three nations (Axis powers) in World War II. It was a Coalition formed in 1936 between Italy and Germany. An agreement formulated by Italy's foreign minister Galeazzo Ciano informally linking the two fascist countries was reached on October 25, 1936. It was formalized by the Pact of Steel in 1939. The term Axis Powers came to include Japan as well. The Axis grew out of the diplomatic efforts of Germany, Italy, and Japan to secure their own specific expansionist interests in the mid-1930s. The first step was the treaty signed by Germany and Italy in October 1936. Benito Mussolini declared on 1 November 1936 that all other European countries would from then on rotate on the Rome–Berlin axis, thus creating the term “Axis”. Let us study in detail about the Axis in the following unit.

8.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of military alliance
- Explain the formation of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis
- Discuss the role of Hitler and his relationship with Mussolini

8.2 ROLE OF GERMANY IN AXIS POWER

Germany had not established any authorizations against Italy during the Italo-Ethiopian War (1935–36). Solidly settled on attaching Austria to Germany, Hitler

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was holding up until Italy's war was over prior to taking his next action on the global chessboard. At that point, after a harsh mission in the Nazi press against the Austrian chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg, German ambassador Franz von Papen, in May 1936, began dealings with Schuschnigg for a *modus vivendi*. A draft understanding among Germany and Austria was submitted to Italian despot Benito Mussolini, whose endorsement was gotten on June 5. An official report distributed in Berlin and in Vienna on July 11 expressed that the German Reich perceived Austria's full sway and that Austria embraced, "both all in all and toward the German Reich," to seek after the strategy of "a German express". A visit by Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's child in-law and clergyman of international concerns, to Hitler at Berchtesgaden on October 24 was followed by Germany's recognition of addition of Ethiopia into Italy. On November 1, in Milan, Mussolini finished the deal by broadcasting the Rome-Berlin Axis and savagely assaulting socialism. In the most recent seven day stretch of September 1937, when he paid a state visit to Germany, Mussolini got a fantastic welcome. Persuaded that in an approaching war the Nazi Reich would be successful, he officially bought in to the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact on November 6 in that year, and on December 11 he pulled out Italy from the League of Nations. Germany, Italy, and Japan currently shaped a triangle. The associations among the Axis powers were reinforced by a full military and political partnership between Germany and Italy (the Pact of Steel, May 22, 1939) and by the Tripartite Pact, endorsed by every one of the three forces on September 27, 1940, one year after Germany's intrusion of Poland and the start of the World War II. During the war various different nations joined the Axis, initiated by compulsion or guarantees of an area or insurance by the Axis powers. They included Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia (after Czechoslovakia had partitioned in 1939) in November 1940, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in March 1941, and Croatia after the wartime separation of Yugoslavia (June 1941). Finland, despite the fact that it didn't officially join the Tripartite Pact, helped out the Axis as a result of its resistance to the Soviet Union (to which Finland had been compelled to surrender an area in 1940) and entered the battle in 1941. Numerous authorities in the west came from the Prussian honourability or from the pre-Nazi military first class. There was no similarity between these experts and the Nazi ideologues in Berlin apart from safeguard of the country. Undoubtedly, a portion of the authorities knew about plots against Hitler, and a couple effectively schemed to dismiss or even kill him with the expectation that his expulsion would save Germany from all out destruction.

Importance of Rome-Berlin Axis

The most significant advance in the German military was a deal with conventions, among Germany and Italy on 25 and 26 October 1936, which shaped the source of the now renowned Rome-Berlin Axis. For Germany, it implied that her south limit was secured. In spite of the fact that Mussolini was acknowledged for advocating the term with regards to the subsequent universal war, he really cribbed Janda and Mula state of Hungary. Gyula Gombos needed a "pivot" of European

force that was driven by Germany and included Italy and Hungary as essential accomplices.

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

Japan aligns itself with Germany and Italy in the Anti-Comintern Pact

In 1936, Japan had set up an extensive history of hostility in East-Asia and was removed from the League of Nations (harbinger to the United Nations). Japan's supreme government saw the Soviet Union (previously, and now Russia) as the primary danger to its victories on the terrain of Asia, and specifically, Japan's manikin territory of Manchukuo (in the past the Chinese area of Manchuria). Besides regional development on the Asian terrain in its priority list, Japan started searching for regions which had no issues with military hostility and were liable to help Japan in case of a military encounter with the Soviet Union. Hitler was satisfied to oblige Japan, and on 25 November 1936, Japan and Germany marked the Anti-Comintern Pact.

The apparent reason for the Anti-Comintern Pact was to contain the spread of socialism, yet it contained a mystery convention which required the two players to talk with the end goal of protecting their regular advantages if either Germany or Japan was assaulted by the Soviet Union. The Japanese saw the agreement as a defence of Manchukuo against the Soviet Union trying to utilize Japan's manikin state as a methods for admittance to a without ice Pacific port. With a mystery dream to attack and vanquish the Soviet Union, Hitler considered this to be as a way to tie up sizeable Russian military assets in East-Asia when he considered that was the ideal opportunity to assault the Russians from the west. Italy joined the Pact in 1937.

Role of Hitler: Hitler discards his top Generals

In November 1937, Hitler told the chiefs of his armed forces that he intended to invade and seize Austria and Czechoslovakia. The Commanders in Chief of the Armed Forces and the Army warned Hitler that Germany could not invade Czechoslovakia without drawing that country's ally, France, into the conflict, and that Germany would lose such a war, especially if Britain supported France. When the army chiefs refused to withdraw their opposition to his plans for war, Hitler, the former army corporal, forced their resignations and assumed the role of Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces himself.

Rome-Berlin Axis: History of relation between Hitler and Mussolini

Nazi Germany and fundamentalist Italy have regularly been portrayed as consistent cases during the period in conversation in which their alleged intrinsic connections shaped the premise of their relationship. Relations turned out to be consistently closer in mid 1936, most outstandingly following Mussolini's success of Abyssinia. After war broke out in Abyssinia in October 1935, Mussolini was quick to recommend an improvement in German-Italian fortitude with respect to the making

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of a closer collusion. Moreover, the rapprochement of the British-French alliance, as a result of the Abyssinian emergency and presentation of the Hoare-Laval agreement, incited the Nazi and to a significantly more prominent degree, the Italian Fascist system, to unite, regardless of whether it was on a shrewd or restricted premise. This expanded closeness was shown in Mussolini's public talks and in private gatherings, 'among Germany and Italy there exists a network of predetermination'. Besides, Mussolini controlled the idea of philosophy to produce a typical connection between the two nations; as he declared that their relationship might have been 'directed by fate and which will undoubtedly get more grounded and more grounded'.

Furthermore, Germany's function in Abyssinia showed intelligence of Hitler to Italy; while it provided the Italians with weapons and coal; it likewise subtly provided arms to the Emperor Haile Selassie for safeguard against the Italian attack. By protracting the war and introducing a twofold strategy, Hitler could occupy Britain and France away from his own forceful international strategy plans (to remilitarise the Rhineland) and furthermore conceivably divert Mussolini from his aspirations concerning the approaching Anschluss – something the Italians had passionately contradicted. Besides it gave him an extra ideal opportunity to overcome Italy's business sectors inside the Balkans. Hitler needed Italy to be triumphant in the war so that Britain and France would separate Italy which would subsequently drive Mussolini towards Hitler and as a result Italy's reliance on Germany as a partner would increase. Subsequently in this vein, the victory of Abyssinia ostensibly profited the Führer more than the Duce. Hitler picked up an incredible arrangement from the battle in Ethiopia; the introduction of the Hoare-Laval settlement implied Ethiopia turned into an ace in the hole for Hitler as it considerably debilitated the Stresa front – the relationship of Britain, France and Italy in 1935 and liberated him from 'enclosure' inside Europe. In any case, Mussolini additionally utilized Hitler in his own capacity game as he embraced a twofold approach of guaranteeing partnerships with both Britain and France and that of Germany. At the point when Germany grumbled of his twofold arrangement, Mussolini beseeched them not to be excessively annoyed on the off chance that he needed to lie to London. Be that as it may, the level of convention wherein Mussolini sought after with Britain and France could be addressed as late as 1936; London and Paris were reluctant to freely break an arrangement with Italy when it had so unmistakably shamed the League of Nations. Subsequently, Britain and France were foes for both Germany and Italy, albeit secretly, Britain specifically, valued the significance of having one of these countries as a partner; nonetheless, Britain knew that a union with Italy or Germany was not openly doable. Thus, Italy and Germany were most importantly attracted together because of their bombed political binds with Britain and France.

Hitler's unmistakable infringement of the Treaty of Versailles concerning the remilitarisation of the Rhineland in March 1936 drove Mussolini to a considerably bigger degree to accept that a partnership with Hitler was the most fitting way for

future Italian international strategy. Despite the fact that this acknowledgment didn't come promptly, by the spring of 1936 Mussolini's demeanour faltered as he progressively saw how misleading Germany was turning out to be following two years of rearmament, along these lines he understood that Germany would be more useful as a partner than an adversary.. Hitler was currently in an incredible key situation because of his effective and striking test of Versailles, wherein he could hang before the Duce the likelihood of a German acknowledgment of Italy's new supreme quality (Abyssinia) in return for Italy's acquiescence over Austria. Subsequently, Mussolini gradually started to get a handle on that a partnership with Germany, the giving up of Austria and the acknowledgment of the triumph of Abyssinia were all inseparably connected. Hence, Mussolini started to concede that the autonomy of Austria must be relinquished as the cost of an understanding with Germany.

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Check Your Progress

1. Why did Finland help out the Axis?
2. What was the most significant advance in the German military?
3. Why was Hitler satisfied to oblige Japan?
4. Why did Mussolini think that a partnership with Hitler was the most fitting way for future Italian international strategy?

8.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Finland, despite the fact that it didn't officially join the Tripartite Pact, helped out the Axis as a result of its resistance to the Soviet Union (to which Finland had been compelled to surrender an area in 1940) and entered the battle in 1941.
2. The most significant advance in the German military was a deal with conventions, among Germany and Italy on 25 and 26 October 1936, which shaped the source of the now renowned Rome-Berlin Axis.
3. Japan started searching for regions which had no issues with military hostility and were liable to help it in case of a military encounter with the Soviet Union. Due to such attitude of Japan, Hitler was satisfied to oblige it and on 25 November 1936, Japan and Germany marked the Anti-Comintern Pact.
4. Hitler's unmistakable infringement of the Treaty of Versailles concerning the remilitarisation of the Rhineland in March 1936 drove Mussolini to a considerably bigger degree to accept that a partnership with Hitler was the most fitting way for future Italian international strategy.

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8.4 SUMMARY

- During the war various different nations joined the Axis, initiated by compulsion or guarantees of an area or insurance by the Axis powers. They included Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia (after Czechoslovakia had partitioned in 1939) in November 1940, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in March 1941, and Croatia after the wartime separation of Yugoslavia (June 1941).
- Besides regional development on the Asian terrain in its priority list, Japan started searching for regions which had no issues with military hostility and were liable to help Japan in case of a military encounter with the Soviet Union. Hitler was satisfied to oblige Japan, and on 25 November 1936, Japan and Germany marked the Anti-Comintern Pact.
- The apparent reason for the Anti-Comintern Pact was to contain the spread of socialism.
- By protracting the war and introducing a twofold strategy, Hitler could occupy Britain and France away from his own forceful international strategy plans (to remilitarise the Rhineland).
- Hitler picked up an incredible arrangement from the battle in Ethiopia; the introduction of the Hoare-Laval settlement implied Ethiopia turned into an ace in the hole for Hitler as it considerably debilitated the Stresa front – the relationship of Britain, France and Italy in 1935 and liberated him from ‘enclosure’ inside Europe.
- Hitler’s unmistakable infringement of the Treaty of Versailles concerning the remilitarisation of the Rhineland in March 1936 drove Mussolini to a considerably bigger degree to accept that a partnership with Hitler was the most fitting way for future Italian international strategy.

8.5 KEY WORDS

- **Bolshevism:** It is the communist form of government adopted in Russia following the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.
- **Anti-Comintern Pact:** It was an official agreement against the Communist International, which was an anti-Communist pact, concluded between Nazi Germany and the Empire of Japan on 25 November 1936, and was directed against the Communist International.
- **Alliance:** It is a union or association formed between two or more groups or nations for mutual benefit.

8.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How did Hitler, the former army corporal, assume the role of Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces?
2. What prompted Japan to align itself with Germany and Italy in the Anti-Comintern Pact?

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the role of Germany in Axis power.
2. Give an overview of the history of the relation between Hitler and Mussolini.

8.7 FURTHER READINGS

Adam, RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

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UNIT 9 MIDDLE EAST NATIONALISM

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Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 Arabism, Nationalism and Ethnicity
- 9.3 Interwar Period
- 9.4 Middle East
- 9.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Key Words
- 9.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 9.9 Further Readings

9.0 INTRODUCTION

Through different approaches the Ottoman Turks maintained the loyalty of their diverse Muslim Arab subjects. But as the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War in 1914, this loyalty could no longer be taken for granted, for two reasons. The first was the growth of a nascent Arab nationalism that drew inspiration from 19th-century Western ideas. Some Arabs looked to the nationalist movements of the Slavic (and mostly Christian) minorities of the Ottoman Balkan territories, which had, by the end of 1912, all won their independence. This Arab nationalism was largely fostered by the educated urban elites – intellectuals, civil servants and former or serving officers in the Ottoman Army – living in great Arab cities like Damascus and Baghdad. A number of secret societies were formed, although none of these succeeded in spreading their ideas to the wider Arab population before the outbreak of the First World War. The second unsettling factor was the completion in 1908 of the Hejaz railway, which provided a direct link between Medina and Damascus, greatly facilitating Ottoman access to the Arabian interior. In this unit, we will study about the Arabism and the rise of the Middle East nationalism. The traditional view believes that nationalism was born from the nation-states of the Ottoman Empire.

9.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Arabism
- Discuss the role and importance of nationalism in Middle East
- Explain the factors that led to the rise and then the fall of Arab nationalism

9.2 ARABISM, NATIONALISM AND ETHNICITY

In this section, we will study about the meaning and concept of Arabism, nationalism and ethnicity.

Arabism

The term ‘Arabism’ was used to describe the original Arab nationality or Arab Nationalism and to distinguish it from the Ottoman-ism which emerged in that period and was found to spread throughout the Arab world. Emphasizing the Arab ethnic identity and its common cultural roots, Arabism called for the equality of the Arabs with other ethnic groups within the empire. Influenced by Arabism, besides European nationalist ideologies, was also influenced by the redefining of ancient Arab and Islamic times, as well as the rise of Nationalism among other races, such as Armenians and Kurds.

Nationalism and Ethnicity

Nationalism and ethnicity are important politic forces in the Middle East in present times. As the power of Arab nationalism diminished, it was challenged by the nationalism and the resurgence of Islamic ideology that gave rise to another political and social movement in the Islamic world. The leaders of the countries such as Syria, Egypt and Algeria have promoted the growth of nationalism as a means of nation-building and gathering political support for local and foreign policies of standing governments while supporting the broader notion of Arab unity.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire saw its inclination towards nationalism. According to most of the contemporary spectators, the Ottoman Empire was gullible in its efforts of reforms which left many issues and subjects unaddressed. Also the state made many attempts to bring about equality between Muslims and non-Muslim in order to forge equitable relations between different strata of society. However the slow implementation of such steps eventually led to revolts and wars only.

Furthermore, the American Nationalism had its roots in the mid-sixteenth century but did not gain much importance in the Ottoman Empire until the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was only after the defeat of the Ottoman in the Russo-Turkish War in the period 1877–1878 that the Congress of Berlin mentioned the chance of an Independent Armenia. Ottoman attacks against its Armenian population are described by many historians and various scholars as massacres in 1895 to 1896, 1908, 1909, 1912 and 1915-1916.

Similarly, the Kurdish minority in the Ottoman Empire made a lot of efforts in order to achieve self-rule if not statehood. The Constitutional Revolution in Iran from 1906 to 1911 and the Young Turk uprising in Turkey in 1908 later united to deny the Kurds any measure of independence. The end of World War I (1914-1918) led to the redistribution of Ottoman Kurdistan between newly formed

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countries in Iraq, Syria and Turkey. A lot of revolts were seen in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey but none of them led to the formation of an independent Kurdistan.

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From the beginning of the 1860s, there was an inclination towards Arab nationalism. But it was only in the early twentieth century, following the Young Turk revolt and reconstruction of Ottoman constitution of 1876, that paved way for the development and creation of political movement. Such things made increased political expression throughout the Ottoman Empire.

Check Your Progress

1. Define Arabism.
2. Which are important politic forces in the Middle East in present times?

9.3 INTERWAR PERIOD

After World War I, Arab nationalism emerged as a broader political movement and entity. By competing with Islam as well as other political ideologies, the influence of Arab nationalism gradually spread throughout the eastern Arab world, and in subsequent decades, throughout the region. Seeking an independent Arab state or an alliance of nations from the Arabian Peninsula to the Crescent of Fertile, the Arab intentions were at odds with the post-war policies of France and Great Britain in the Middle East. Under the auspices of the United Nations, European powers had divided the region with powers, protectors, and sovereign states, all of which were heavily influenced by their European allies.

The Arab revolt in the Hijaz (1916) was directed at inter-state rather than foreign domination, and the development of Arab nationalism in the region did not depend on the revolt itself but instead on the subsequent establishment of European mandates. In Iraq, nationalism was more anti-European than anti-Ottoman. In Egypt, the nationalist Wafd Party, with its goal of complete independence, was the governing party for much of the so-called liberal period, which ended with a military coup in 1952. The period between the wars also saw the creation of the Society of Muslim Brothers in Egypt. Founded by Shayk Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) in 1928, the Brotherhood promoted a common Islamic view of society and politics. In contrast, Reza Pahlavi (1878-1944), who founded the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran in 1925, called for Iranian nationalism in many of the country's ethnic minorities to facilitate the building of a modern state.

During the wars, Arab nationalism faced their first major challenge in the form of Zionism, a competitive nationalism. Created to promote the establishment of the Jewish state, Zionism was rooted in the notion that Jews, wherever they lived, would form a single community. The early Zionists explored various areas of the future Jewish empire, which included Uganda in East Africa and Cyrenaica in present-day Libya; however, the first World Zionist Congress, organized by

Theodore Herzl (1860-1904) in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, looked to Palestine. Impressed by the power of Theodore, the Arab writers in the 1930's spoke of the power of Zionism point by point in an effort to revive Arabism.

Furthermore, the situation grew tense at a tremendous speed between the conflicting opinions of Arab and nation-state nationalism. This was found to continue in the wake of World War II (1939–1945) as well.

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Check Your Progress

3. What was the contribution of Reza Pahlavi in Iranian nationalism?
4. Which major challenge did the Arab nationalism face during the wars?

9.4 MIDDLE EAST

The nineteenth century was the time of nationalism in the Middle East. The geographical, linguistic, and regional divisions of the region provided the basis for numerous national movements.

Encouraged by their religious segregation and contact with the European world when nationalism became a unifying element of unity and identity, some small Christian groups began to form their groups in the region's Muslim majority.

One of the most well known in this context were the Maronites of Mount Lebanon and the Armenians of eastern Anatolia, among whom the emphasis was on their historical diversity and right to political autonomy or self-determination which began in the nineteenth century. There was fear of nationalism which eventually led to the mass expulsion or extermination and massacre of Armenians by the Ottoman government in the early twentieth century.

Further, we find that both Egypt and Iran, geographically diverse areas that existed as independent states with their own structure of governance led Egyptian and Iranian scholars to seek the existence of Egyptian and Iranian "nations" in the later decades of the century. Egyptian nationalism took on a political form by the late 1870s, when Egyptian nobility sought to dominate the ruling Ottoman family and to European economic domination that produced dynastic splendor; their organization's motto being "Egypt for the Egyptians" clearly states the focus of it all.

With the end of the Turkish resistance in the year 1918, the thoughts of the allies turned to consolidating their profits and establishing a civil administration in the places which were occupied. There were many complexities in this process. The most immediate was the actual disposition of forces. Wartime agreements between the partners had planned a number of specific details. One such detail was that, in deference to Arab-Moslem sensibilities, Feisal's army entered Damascus first but it did not do so. There was an unanticipated early collapse of

the Ottoman authority in the city. British forces were nearer and moved in to fill the vacuum. French forces were found to be seen on the ground in what is now Lebanon and were moving toward Damascus.

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Rise and fall of Arab Nationalism

The period of 1950s and 1960s was a time of Arab nationalism which was a prominent ideology in the Middle East, propagated by the kind Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970), as well as the organization and organizational skills and movements like Ba'th (Arab Socialist Resurrection). Arab nationalism was rising throughout the Arab world, be it the party in Syria or the Movement of Arab Nationalists in Palestine and elsewhere. In Egypt, Arab nationalism included Egyptian nationalism after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1952.

Further, in 1956 the Suez's crisis confirmed Nasser's role as the leader of all Arabs. Nasser took up arms in early 1955 when he had launched a powerful offensive against the Baghdad Pact. The Baghdad Pact was the 1955 treaty guaranteeing the safety of the signatories: Great Britain, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.

The decline of Arab nationalism was immediately apparent as its rise. The defeat of the Arabs in the June 1967 war severely damaged the dignity of the Arab leaders and the confidence of the Arab people, undermining the legitimacy of the revolutionary regimes from Cairo to Damascus. After Nasser's death in 1970, Anwar Sadat (1918-1981) followed a policy that became increasingly independent when Arab nationalism was subject to the interests and grievances of Egypt.

In Syria, the rise of Hafez al-Assad's (1930-2000) power in 1970 marked the decline of Ba'athist commitment to Arab nationalism and unity in favor of common sense. In Iraq, Saddam Hussein (1937-2006) ruled politically after 1968 in a dictatorial regime that was undermined by nationalism and beyond by using violence at an unprecedented rate in the history of the country.

In Iran, the overthrow of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919-1980) in 1979 led to the proclamation of an Islamic republic. For the Palestinians, the lesson they learned from the 1967 war was that they could not rely on Arab forces to conquer Israel; therefore, they decided to hide the Palestinian nationality to do more for themselves in the future. As for Zionism, Israel's victory in the June 1967 war, coupled with the actions of Jerusalem, Gaza, and the West Bank, strengthened the Zionist movement, which had been inspired by a new religion.

Check Your Progress

5. What provided the basis for numerous national movements in the Middle East?
6. What was the Baghdad Pact?

9.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The term ‘Arabism’ was used to describe the original Arab nationality or Arab Nationalism and to distinguish it from the Ottoman-ism. Arabism called for the equality of the Arabs with other ethnic groups within the empire.
2. Nationalism and ethnicity are important politic forces in the Middle East in present times.
3. Reza Pahlavi (1878-1944), who founded the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran in 1925, called for Iranian nationalism in many of the country’s ethnic minorities to facilitate the building of a modern state.
4. During the wars, Arab nationalism faced their first major challenge in the form of Zionism, a competitive nationalism.
5. The geographical, linguistic, and regional divisions of the Middle East region provided the basis for numerous national movements.
6. The Baghdad Pact was the 1955 treaty guaranteeing the safety of the signatories: Great Britain, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.

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9.6 SUMMARY

- The term ‘Arabism’ was used to describe the original Arab nationality or Arab Nationalism and to distinguish it from the Ottoman-ism which emerged in that period and was found to spread throughout the Arab world.
- Arabism called for the equality of the Arabs with other ethnic groups within the empire.
- In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire saw its inclination towards nationalism. According to most of the contemporary spectators, the Ottoman Empire was gullible in its efforts of reforms which left many issues and subjects unaddressed.
- It was only after the defeat of the Ottoman in the Russo-Turkish War in the period 1877–1878 that the Congress of Berlin mentioned the chance of an Independent Armenia.
- From the beginning of the 1860s, there was an inclination towards Arab nationalism. But it was only in the early twentieth century, following the Young Turk revolt and reconstruction of Ottoman constitution of 1876, that paved way for the development and creation of political movement.
- Arab intentions were at odds with the post-war policies of France and Great Britain in the Middle East. Under the auspices of the United Nations, European powers had divided the region with powers, protectors, and

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sovereign states, all of which were heavily influenced by their European allies.

- In Iraq, nationalism was more anti-European than anti-Ottoman. In Egypt, the nationalist Wafd Party, with its goal of complete independence, was the governing party for much of the so-called liberal period, which ended with a military coup in 1952. The period between the wars also saw the creation of the Society of Muslim Brothers in Egypt.
- During the wars, Arab nationalism faced their first major challenge in the form of Zionism, a competitive nationalism.
- The nineteenth century was the time of nationalism in the Middle East. The geographical, linguistic, and regional divisions of the region provided the basis for numerous national movements.
- Egyptian nationalism took on a political form by the late 1870s, when Egyptian nobility sought to dominate the ruling Ottoman family and to European economic domination that produced dynastic splendor; their organization's motto being "Egypt for the Egyptians" clearly states the focus of it all.
- With the end of the Turkish resistance in the year 1918, the thoughts of the allies turned to consolidating their profits and establishing a civil administration in the places which were occupied. There were many complexities in this process. The most immediate was the actual disposition of forces.
- The period of 1950s and 1960s was a time of Arab nationalism which was a prominent ideology in the Middle East, propagated by the kind Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970), as well as the organization and organizational skills and movements like Ba'th (Arab Socialist Resurrection).
- In 1956, the Suez's crisis confirmed Nasser's role as the leader of all Arabs. Nasser took up arms in early 1955 when he had launched a powerful offensive against the Baghdad Pact.
- The defeat of the Arabs in the June 1967 war severely damaged the dignity of the Arab leaders and the confidence of the Arab people, undermining the legitimacy of the revolutionary regimes from Cairo to Damascus.
- In Iran, the overthrow of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919-1980) in 1979 led to the proclamation of an Islamic republic. For the Palestinians, the lesson they learned from the 1967 war was that they could not rely on Arab forces to conquer Israel.

9.7 KEY WORDS

- **Arabism:** It refers to the Arab culture or identity.

- **Nationalism:** It is the identification with one's own nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.
- **Middle East:** It is an extensive area of south-western Asia and northern Africa, stretching from the Mediterranean to Pakistan and including the Arabian Peninsula.
- **Baghdad Pact:** It was a defensive organization for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran.

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9.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How did the resurgence of Islamic ideology affect the Arab nationalism?
2. Which things made increased political expression throughout the Ottoman Empire?

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the interwar period in context of Middle East nationalism.
2. Elaborate on the causes of the rise and the fall of Arab nationalism.

9.9 FURTHER READINGS

Adam, RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

BLOCK IV
THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND ITS IMPACT

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UNIT 10 ZIONISM AND THE ARABS

Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Objectives
- 10.2 Zionism
- 10.3 The Second World War
- 10.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 10.5 Summary
- 10.6 Key Words
- 10.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 10.8 Further Readings

10.0 INTRODUCTION

Zionism is the national movement that supports repatriation of Jews to their homeland, Israel and the resumption of sovereign Jewish life there. The Hibbat Zion movement began to coalesce in the second half of the nineteenth century, but the change of substance occurred later, when Theodor Herzl energized and consolidated Zionism into a political movement by convening the First Zionist Congress in 1897. Herzl was the first to bring the Jewish problem to world attention, and make the Jewish people a player in the world political arena. The Zionist movement which developed from his initiative also created organizational, political and economic tools to implement its vision and ideology. The Zionist movement enunciated its goals - a national home for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel - in the Basle Program.

In this unit, we will have a thorough understanding of the history of Zionism, the establishment of the Zionist Movement which occurred from the period 1897 to 1917 and the consequences of the holocaust on the Zionists.

10.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the history of Zionism
- Describe the establishment of the Zionist Movement which occurred from 1897 to 1917

- Analyze the ways in which the Zionism took place in the World and especially Zionism and the Arabs
- Explain the impact of the Holocaust

10.2 ZIONISM

Zionism as an organized movement is generally considered to be started by Theodor Herzl in 1897; yet the history of Zionism began earlier and is found to be related to Judaism and Jewish history. It is believed that the Zion are responsible for creating up of twenty new Jewish settlements and areas in Palestine between the period of 1870 and 1897.

Setting up a Jewish National home and a culture centre in Palestine was the main aim before the holocaust turned on, but later on with the holocaust, the movement shifted its direction to forming a Jewish state which attained its objective in the year 1948 with the creation of Israel. But with the establishment of Israel, the importance and value of the Zionist movement started to decline significantly. However, the Zionist movement continued to exist and most of the political parties associated with it call themselves Zionist.

The enlightenment and the Jews

In 18th and 19th century, in Europe, the Age of Enlightenment led to a Jewish enlightenment movement which came to be known as the Haskalah. In 1791, the French Revolution led France became the first country in Europe to offer the Jews the legal equality. In 1856, Britain granted the Jews equal rights. The spread of the western ideas of freedom among the newly liberated Jews led to the formation of a group of secular Jews who accepted the common views of enlightenment that included rationalism, romanticism and nationalism.

However, prejudices against Jews were found. Anti-Semitism was the name which was acquired. The Anti-Semites viewed the Jews as a separate religious, national and racial group and tried to prevent Jews from gaining equal rights and citizenship. Furthermore, from 1791 the Jews in Eastern Europe were only allowed to live in the Pale of settlement. From 1827 to 1917 Russian Jewish boys were needed to serve the Russian army for 25 years which started at a very early age of 12. Between 1880 and 1928, two million Jews left Russia, while majority of them emigrated to the United States and only a fraction of people chose Palestine.

Establishment of the Zionist Movement (1897-1917)

In 1883, a 19 year old named Nathan Birnbaum founded Kadimah which was the very first Jewish student association in Vienna. Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist, Theodor Herzl published his pamphlet *Der Judenstaat* (“The Jewish State”) in 1896 and *Altneuland* (“The Old New Land”) in 1897. In his pamphlet he argued that creating a Jewish state would enable the Jews to join the family of nations and escape anti-Semitism.

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Let us look at the following objectives of Zionism:

1. To encourage appropriate Palestinian living conditions for Jewish farmers, artisans, and producers
2. To organize and integrate all Jews through the appropriate institutions, both local and international, according to the laws of each country
3. To strengthen and promote the Jewish national sentiment and nationalism
4. To take preparatory measures to obtain governments approval wherever necessary in order to achieve the goals of Zionism

Now, one may find that initially the World Zionist Organization (WZO) used to meet every year to discuss various strategies and measures to be adopted then. They gathered every second year up to the Second World War. Later they used to meet every four years. The WZO's initial strategy was to get permission from the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II to allow for the systematic Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Further, Herzl believed that the Jews should return to their historic homeland as a refuge from anti-Semitism whereas the opposition led by Ahad Ha'am believed that the Jews must revive and foster a Jewish national culture and especially revive their language, i.e., Hebrew.

In 1903, the British colonial secretary named Joseph Chamberlain had suggested for the British Uganda Programme. Initially the idea was rejected by Herzl but after April 1903 Herzl introduced a controversial proposal to the Sixth Zionist Congress to investigate the offer as a temporary measure for Russian Jews in danger. Later on a committee was formed which was however dismissed in the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905. It was only after then that Palestine became the sole focus of Zionist.

Zionism in the World

In the Arab world the first Zionist branches opened in Morocco after a few years of Basel conference. The movement gained quite a popularity among the Jews who lived within the Arab and the Muslim world. Before 1917, Palestine's Arab population saw themselves as Ottoman subjects. They had assumed that the movement would fail sooner or later. But after the Young Turk revolution in 1908, Arab Nationalism grew rapidly and most Arab Nationalists regarded Zionism as a threat.

Further between the period of 1880 and 1920 the Jewish population of the USA increased about ten times. By 1917, the American Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs had increased the membership of American Zionist to ten times. In the US England had experienced a rapid growth in their Jewish minority. Further with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, in Berlin the offices of the Zionist Organization were located and traced. The policy of the Zionist was to keep strict neutrality and showcase complete loyalty to Turkey.

Thereby after Turkey's entry into World War I the Zionists were expelled from Tel Aviv. The advancing Germans were regarded as liberators by the Jews in much of the Europe. In the USA, however, most Russian German Jews supported the Germans.

Zionism and the Arabs

Arab nationalists saw Zionism as a threat to their ambitions. This idea was upheld with the growth of Zionist labour movement and its "Hebrew labour" program. The latter was an attempt to increase the number of Jewish immigrant employment, secure the formation of a Jewish working class and to prevent Zionist settlement from turning into a typical colonial business. Initially, it sought to develop separate settlements and economies and to campaign for the employment of Jews but later it was found to campaign against the Arabs employment. Its negative effects on the majority of Arabs were increasingly recognized by the mandatory administration.

In 1919, Hashemite Emir Faisal wrote: "We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our delegation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper."

In the subsequent years Zionist supporters got aware of the Arab opposition which further led the movement in 1921 to pass a motion calling on the leadership to "forge a true understanding with the Arab nation".

Zionism during the Holocaust

During the period of holocaust, the Jews of Europe were found to be cut off from the outside world. They were without food, impoverished, and murdered. When Jews fought the Nazis it was the Zionists who were very much evident in showing the resistance. The only place where the Jews were successful was in the woods as partisans. During the holocaust, the allies of the Nazis were responsible for about ten per cent of the six million Jews death. A lot of efforts were put up to offer the Nazis money so that they might release Jews.

Let us look at the impact of holocaust on the Zionists:

1. A large section of the members was erased totally. Particularly if we talk about Poland, the impact of holocaust was very severe.
2. The Jews who were not killed lost all of their possessions as a result which led to many Jews leave Europe.
3. All Jews had agreed and shown full support for a Jewish state.
4. The Jews of the USA were now the dominant force in the Jewish politics.
5. Britain was now weakened.

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10.3 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

We will study in detail about the Second World War in the next Unit.

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Check Your Progress

1. What was the WZO's initial strategy?
2. Who were the Anti-Semites?
3. What was "Hebrew labour" program?
4. What argument did the Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist, Theodor Herzl in his pamphlet *Der Judenstaat* make?
5. Which country offered the Jews the legal equality first?

10.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The WZO's initial strategy was to get permission from the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II to allow for the systematic Jewish settlement in Palestine.
2. The Anti-Semites were the people who viewed the Jews as a separate religious, national and racial group and tried to prevent Jews from gaining equal rights and citizenship.
3. The "Hebrew labour" program was an attempt to increase the number of Jewish immigrant employment, secure the formation of a Jewish working class and to prevent Zionist settlement from turning into a typical colonial business.
4. In his pamphlet the Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist, Theodor Herzl argued that creating a Jewish state would enable the Jews to join the family of nations and escape anti-Semitism.
5. In 1791, the French Revolution led France became the first country in Europe to offer the Jews the legal equality.

10.5 SUMMARY

- Zionism as an organized movement is generally considered to be started by Theodor Herzl in 1897; yet the history of Zionism began earlier and is found to be related to Judaism and Jewish history.
- In 18th and 19th century, in Europe, the Age of Enlightenment led to a Jewish enlightenment movement which came to be known as the Haskalah. In 1791, the French Revolution led France to become the first country in

Europe to offer the Jews the legal equality. In 1856, Britain granted the Jews equal rights.

- The spread of the western ideas of freedom among the newly liberated Jews led to the formation of a group of secular Jews who accepted the common views of enlightenment that included rationalism, romanticism and nationalism.
- From 1791 the Jews in Eastern Europe were only allowed to live in the Pale of settlement. From 1827 to 1917 Russian Jewish boys were needed to serve the Russian army for 25 years which started at a very early age of 12. Between 1880 and 1928, two million Jews left Russia, while majority of them emigrated to the United States and only a fraction of people chose Palestine.
- The World Zionist Organization's (WZO) initial strategy was to get permission from the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II to allow for the systematic Jewish settlement in Palestine.
- In the Arab world the first Zionist branches opened in Morocco after a few years of Basel conference. The movement gained quite a popularity among the Jews who lived within the Arab and the Muslim world. Before 1917, Palestine's Arab population saw themselves as Ottoman subjects.
- Arab nationalists saw Zionism as a threat to their ambitions. This idea was promoted with the growth of Zionist labour movement and its "Hebrew labour" program. The latter was an attempt to increase the number of Jewish immigrant employment, secure the formation of a Jewish working class and to prevent Zionist settlement from turning into a typical colonial business.
- In the subsequent years Zionist supporters got aware of the Arab opposition which further led the movement in 1921 to pass a motion calling on the leadership to "forge a true understanding with the Arab nation".
- During the period of holocaust, the Jews of Europe were found to be cut off from the outside world. They were without food, impoverished, and murdered. When Jews fought the Nazis it was the Zionists who were very much evident in showing the resistance.

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10.6 KEY WORDS

- **Enlightenment:** It is the movement which dominated the world of ideas in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.
- **Holocaust:** It was the World War II genocide of the European Jews.
- **Jews:** It refers to the ethno religious group, nation originating from Israelites and Hebrews of historical Israel and Judah.

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- **Revolution:** It is the fundamental change when the population revolts against the Government.
- **Zionism:** It refers to an ideology and nationalist movement among the Jewish people for support and reestablishment of a Jewish state.

10.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. State the objectives of Zionism.
2. What was the impact of holocaust on the Zionists?

Long Answer Questions

1. How did Zionism in the world take place? Explain.
2. What was the condition of the Jews during the period of holocaust? Describe.

10.8 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

UNIT 11 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Structure

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Objectives
- 11.2 The Second World War: Course, Causes and Results
- 11.3 Consequences of the Second World War
- 11.4 U.N.O: Organs and Specialized Agencies
- 11.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 11.6 Summary
- 11.7 Key Words
- 11.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 11.9 Further Readings

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11.0 INTRODUCTION

The First World War and the Second World War are considered part of the same struggle. First World War left all the European states desperate for security. After a compromise on reparation between France and Germany in 1924, the European states entered into a period of improved relations that lasted for a decade. France and the US suggested that the world nations should vow not to start wars of aggression and more than twenty countries signed such an agreement on September 1928. After eleven years of the agreement, Europe plunged into a war of much greater destruction known as the Second World War. The Second World War started with Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939 and ended in Europe with the Western Allies' invasion of Germany, the capture of Berlin by the Soviet Union and the unconditional surrender on May 8, 1945. In Asia, the war ended on August 15, 1945, when Japan surrendered to the United States following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Britain and France had gone to war to defend a threatened ally and to stop the spread of fascism and Nazism. Treaty of Versailles, rise of dictatorship in Italy and Germany, expansionist policy of the Axis Powers, failure of disarmament, Policy of Appeasement and the weakness of the League of Nations were the causes of the Second World War. The Second World War was a war for democracy. Let's study in detail about the Second World War in the following unit.

11.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the causes of the Second World War
- Discuss the course and consequences of the War

- Explain the reason of setting up of the UNO and its various organs and specialized agencies

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11.2 THE SECOND WORLD WAR: COURSE, CAUSES AND RESULTS

The Second World War began in 1939 and lasted for six years. Major Powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged all over the world and the War was the most widespread war in human history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercises. In a state of total war, the major participant countries placed their entire economic, industrial, and scientific capabilities and abilities at the service of the War. Although the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany, many historians consider that it is not possible to attribute the War to any single cause or factor.

The Second World War was the outcome of a combination of numerous factors that made peaceful coexistence impossible, though several historians hold Hitler and his Nazi regime responsible for it. In this unit, we discuss the prominent causes of the Second World War, and the course of the War.

The Treaty of Versailles and the Paris Peace Settlement

The Treaty of Versailles was unpopular in Germany. Likewise, Italian and Japanese nationalists were also unhappy with the outcome of the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919. Their dissatisfaction coupled with the imposed economic burden by the First World War victors had led to political instability, economic collapse and social anarchy, resulting in the emergence of dictatorial regimes in Italy, Japan, Germany, and in some smaller countries of Europe. The dictatorship regime resulted in aggressive foreign policies and re-arming of such countries. Finally, the dictators defied the League of Nations and launched their nations on the path of imperialism. Hitler, in fact, vowed to tear the Treaty of Versailles to pieces, and avenge the humiliation.

The territorial settlement related to Central and Eastern Europe also augured ill for the future. The collapse of Austria-Hungary left a political vacuum in the Continent. The principle of self-determination, though laudable, created new sources of tension. The new states created on the basis of the principle (e.g., Czechoslovakia and Poland), had to face numerical problems of ethnic minorities such as the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia and Germans in Poland. Consequently, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia became the trouble spots where the Nazis and Fascists could create a situation of civil strife and finally annex them.

Foreign policies of Mussolini and Hitler: Mussolini's aggression on Abyssinia

Mussolini had his eyes upon Abyssinia (Ethiopia) as a suitable area for Italian expansion, and since 1932, he had planned the invasion of that lone independent

country in Africa. In 1935, the dictator of Italy sought French approval of his plans. Initially, the French and the British foreign ministers were favourably inclined towards the Italian scheme and almost agreed transfer to most of the Abyssinian country to Italy. However, the outcry in Britain against the sinister game forced the Anglo-French combine to abandon it.

Undeterred, Mussolini launched the invasion of Abyssinia in October 1935. When Britain and France, under hostile public opinion, reacted strongly against it, Mussolini abandoned Italy's traditional policy of friendship with both the nations and turned to Adolph Hitler, "the hitherto despised barbarian in the North". Since then, both the dictators were drawn closer, with serious consequences to Europe. The failure of the League of Nations and its two strong pillars—Britain and France—to stop aggression against an independent country and a member of the League, emboldened the dictators.

Hitler and Europe

In the six years before the commencement of the Second World War, the Nazis had made Germany the most hated and unpredictable nation in Europe. As outlined in *Mein Kampf* or 'My Struggle', the fundamental aim of Hitler's European policy was to secure for Germany her rightful place and create for the German people a "Living Space" (Lebensraum). This meant the scrapping of the Treaty of Versailles and the re-arming of Germany.

Rejecting the Treaty terms, Nazi Germany introduced military conscription and an armament programme to equip the new army with modern weapons—with tanks, motorized units, and airplanes. The German Air Force (Luftwaffe) was formed. Neither Britain nor France took cognizance of this blatant violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, in 1935, the British Government signed the Stresa Agreement which permitted Germany a navy roughly 35 per cent of the size of the British Navy.

On 7 March 1936, overruling his generals' warnings, the Fuehrer ordered his new army to cross into the demilitarized zone of the Rhine and occupied it. He guessed rightly that neither the British nor the French would intervene to stop the German forces. In the same year, Fuehrer sent his soldiers to fight in the Spanish Civil War on the side of General Franco against the Liberals, who were being supported by Britain and France. This was a clear indication of the Manchuria, Italy occupied Abyssia and Germany started a long course of aggression which ultimately led to the Second World War.

Nationalism

Another cause of war was the feelings of Nationalism prevailing in various countries. The Peace settlement of 1919-20 was made primarily along nationalist lines. Victorious nations were guided solely by their national interests. Nationalism was used by their leaders to generate public support in Germany, a nation where fervent nationalism was already prevalent. In Italy, the idea of restoring the Roman Empire

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was attractive to many Italians. In Japan, nationalism, in the sense of duty and honor, especially to the emperor, had been widespread for centuries.

Rise of Militarism

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A highly militaristic and aggressive attitude prevailed among the leaders of Germany, Japan and Italy. Compounding this fact was the traditional militant attitude of these three nations that had a similar track record. For example, Germany introduced permanent conscription in 1935, with a clear aim of rebuilding its army (and defying the Treaty of Versailles). The Rhineland was occupied by the German troops in March 1936. Similar things occurred in Italy and Japan. The military preparations of the Axis powers forced the democratic states to arm themselves. This was particularly true after the Munich debacle in September 1938. Thus, militarism was bound to result ultimately in an armed conflict.

Failure of Collective Security

The Covenant of League of Nations had made a provision for joint action against aggression. But presupposing such a provision that governments and people interested in preserving the international peace and maintaining the settlement of 1919 would be able to act together turned out to be wrong.

In 1931, the Japanese militarists committed aggression against China in Manchuria, though both countries were members of the League. China appealed to the League under Article II to force Japan to stop the aggression. Although the League condemned Japan for her Manchurian aggression and contemplated sanction, it was not able to force Japan to withdraw from Manchuria. On the contrary, the Japanese completed the conquest of Manchuria in March 1932 and set-up the puppet-state of Manchukuo. When the League announced sanctions against her, Japan withdrew from the world body but continued invasion of China's territory in north of China. The inaction of the League and the US and their ineffectualness encouraged the European dictators who were planning similar aggression.

Similarly, failure of the League and its main supports, namely Britain and France, to protect Abyssinia from Italy's aggression confirmed the futility of the provision of Collective Security. It was clear that unless military sanctions were sincerely applied, it would be difficult to prevent aggression. Both Britain and France were unwilling to take any initiative. Evidently, the League of Nations had become a mere paper-tiger.

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis and its Consequences

In 1936, the fascist dictator of Italy and the Nazi dictator of Germany came together and signed a military assistance pact, known as the Rome-Berlin Pact. Shortly, Japan also joined the alliance, creating thereby the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Soon afterwards the three signed a common agreement against Communism, known as the Anti-Comintern Pact or League. Thus the wartime alliance of these three powers

was born. Fortified by these two alliances, the dictatorship intensified their territorial aggrandizement.

Hitler's programme of Lebensraum

In the 1930s, Europe was passing through the economic trauma resulting from the Great Depression of 1929. Hence European politicians thought of war as something to be avoided, a last resort when all other means had failed. But Mussolini and Hitler thought otherwise. The Fuehrer was prepared for war against even heavily armed European states. War was a natural extension of his policy and might be necessary to secure the aims that the Nazis had set before themselves.

By 1938, Hitler had effectively destroyed the Treaty of Versailles. However, his armed forces had so far not launched invasion of any country. By the end of 1938, Nazi Germany entered a new phase of policy which was to end only with the outbreak of a general European war.

This new direction began with the march of the German forces into Austria in March 1938, where a strong Nazi party was pressing for union with Germany but its Chancellor, Kurt Schuschnigg, resisted the demand. Hitler, therefore, invited him to Munich and threatened him with invasion of Austria unless he agreed to a voluntary union between the two countries. The Chancellor was forced to resign and Hitler entered Austria with his armed forces and the Gestapo, finding support in thousands of Austrians.

The Allied Powers knew that the union between Austria and Germany had been forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles. But they convinced themselves that the union was natural and right. Hitler was allowed to do what he liked. In one bloodless victory, Hitler had added seven million Austrians to his Reich.

Possession of Austria gave Nazi Germany strategic control over the road, rail and river communication of the middle Danube Valley. It also provided Hitler contact with Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Moreover, the new acquisition opened up three sides of the Bohemian Fortress of Czechoslovakia, much necessary for his next object to aggression. With his Austrian triumph, Hitler's prestige, material resources and strength were greatly enhanced both at home and abroad. Above all, the ease with which he could accomplish the Anschluss (Union) emboldened him to go ahead with his foreign policy objectives. Britain and France protested but did nothing.

Shifting of the Balance of Power

The vacillating diplomacy of Britain and France, the aloofness of the US from the affairs of Europe and the deliberate attempts to keep the Soviet Union from active participation in the European affairs helped the dictators in their policy of territorial aggrandizement. The failure of the non-Fascist and non-Nazi nations to untidily check the expansionist policies of Italy, Germany and Japan had the effect of a shift in the balance of power from the Allies to the Axis. In fact, this shift in Europe

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between 1935 and 1939, in material terms, greatly helped the Axis powers to consolidate their position. As for Hitler, each political and diplomatic triumph filled him with ever greater confidence in his invincibility and in his political instincts.

The rearmament and reintroduction of conscription in Germany, the occupation of the Rhineland, the Anschluss and the conquest of Czechoslovakia were signal triumphs of the Axis but evidently definite setback to the Allies. Consequently, while Hitler grew in confidence to defy the world opinion, the Western Powers were forced to follow a policy of appeasement. 'International relations deteriorated into what a historian terms as, "naked conflict of power between the rival camps, in which more and more of the assets were appropriated by the dictators'. The Axis pursued dynamic, aggressive policies towards the Western Powers and the League of Nations, but the Allies were contented in working for the preservation of the Settlement of 1919. The balance of power was fast shifting to Berlin from London.

The Policy of Appeasement

For three years, before Second World War broke out, attention of the European diplomats was focused on a policy shaped by Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, which came to be known as the "Policy of Appeasement". It was based on an erroneous theory that the objectives of Hitler and Mussolini were essentially limited to revenging the wrong which Hitler had been claiming was done to Germany in 1919. Mussolini also was nursing strong grievance that the Paris Peace Conference had denied to Italy her legitimate claim in North and East Africa. The British Prime Minister accepted the view that the two countries had legitimate grievances since they had a raw deal in 1919. This conviction led him to conclude that if Britain and France granted reasonable and timely concessions, instead of resisting their claims, the dictators would settle down peacefully. Being inexperienced in diplomacy, Chamberlain could not understand Hitler's real intentions.

However, Chamberlain was aware that due to the economic crises of 1930, the Western military and air power had fallen into neglect. Hence he favoured a vigorous programme of rearmament to ensure that the dictators were not tempted to escalate their demands. Moreover, he realized that Britain and France were not in a position to wage war against them at that time, and hence he was determined to avoid war for as long as possible until they were in a position to challenge the dictators. In this sense, the Policy of Appeasement was both utopian and practical.

The mistaken belief led Britain and France to tolerate the brazenly aggressive activities of Italy and Germany, disregarding the terms of the Settlement of 1919. They did not apply economic sanctions against Italy in 1935; they refused to take action against Japan in 1931 and 1937; and they even connived at Hitler's uniting Austria with Germany.

But subsequent events showed how wrong the British and the French Governments were in their assumption. Italian Fascism and German Nazism were fanatically nationalist movements, with limited aim and which they were determined to achieve through fair or foul means. Nevertheless the Policy of Appeasement achieved the following:

- It postponed the inevitability of war by some months.
- It gave a breathing spell both to the Allies and the Axis before the actual hostilities began.
- It strengthened the dictators for making further aggression. Hitler could use the interval to consolidate the existing conquests, build the Siegfried Line or West Wall and complete the preparations for a general war.

Conquest of Czechoslovakia, 1938

Czechoslovakia was a multinational state formed in 1919. It contained troublesome minorities, including more than three million Sudeten Germans. The German wanted self-government, and they were encouraged by Hitler who was determined to occupy this democratic country, created by the Treaty of Versailles. As in Austria, Hitler's war of nerves began there with a wave of terrorist bombings and street riots. He instructed Konrad Hernlein, leader of Czechoslovakia's Sudeten German Party, to 'always demand so much from the Czechs that we can never be satisfied'. In 1938, he sent a secret directive to the German Army that it was his 'unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future'. His Nazis provoked violence in the Sudetenland and let loose a stream of propaganda about the Czech harsh treatment of the German in the country. He began ranting about the Czechs that he would not tolerate any longer that 'a small second-rate country should treat the mighty thousand-year-old German Reich as something inferior'.

Alarmed, Chamberlain first sent his representative to Prague to investigate the allegations, and he himself went to Germany on 15 September to meet the Fuehrer.

The Munich Pact

In the first conference on Czechoslovakia (15 September 1938), Hitler demanded the cession of the Sudetenland and threatened war if this was not agreed to. While the German warlord continued his military preparations, the gullible British Prime Minister discussed Hitler's demand with the French and the Czechs. The Government of Czechoslovakia felt betrayed and deserted by the Allies who were supposed to go to the defence of the country. Eventually, it agreed to cede to Germany all territories where more than half of the inhabitants were German.

A week later, Chamberlain met Hitler again and informed him of the decision. The Fuehrer, who hoped for an excuse to invade Czechoslovakia, rejected the offer, and demanded that his army should occupy the Sudetenland by 1 October 1938, before any plebiscite could be held there. This pushed Europe virtually to

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the brink of a war. But both the British and the French Governments were not yet prepared for war, and Chamberlain believed that the British people wanted peace at any price.

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Hence in the third conference held in Munich on 30 September 1938, the British, French, German and Italian leaders agreed that the German Army should occupy the Sudetenland as demanded by Hitler and parts of Czechoslovakia should go to Poland and Hungary. Interestingly, Soviet Russia, with whom the country had a defence agreement, and Czechoslovakia herself, were not invited to the Munich Conference which decided on the dismemberment of the country.

Hitler told the British Prime Minister that it was his last ambition on Europe. It is worth remembering that while the British Parliament approved the Munich Pact, Winston Churchill called the agreement 'a total and unmitigated defeat'.

As far as the Czechs were concerned, the guarantee to collective security gave way to collective blackmail in the name of preserving peace. There was universal relief that the war had been averted, but this belief was soon shattered when Hitler's forces invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia on 19 March 1939. This was naked aggression, and Chamberlain's policy of appeasements came to an abrupt end as the British public opinion forced their leader to stand firm against any further aggression.

The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, 1939

Having occupied Czechoslovakia, Hitler seized from Lithuania the port of Memel, given to her by the Settlement of 1919. Not to be left behind, Mussolini, too, invaded Albania. The actions of the dictators violated several treaty obligations. Britain, therefore, retaliated by extending guarantee to the countries more likely to be the target of Nazi lust for territory. Among these was Poland, which was given Greece on 31 March 1939. This was to become the formal reason for her declaration of war on Germany five months later as well as the immediate cause of the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and Soviet Russia.

After the Anglo-French treaties with Poland, Greece, Rumania, and Turkey, the Soviet Union was clearly the controller of the balance of power in Europe. Neither the Western powers nor the Axis could henceforth begin a war without reaching some prior understanding with Russia. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Litvinov, stipulated that any mutual assistance pact between the Soviet Union and the two Western powers should also include a guarantee of all the Baltic States. The proposal was rejected, leading to the resignation of the Russian minister. He was succeeded by Molotov. This was the crucial turning point in the Soviet policy towards Europe.

Both Hitler and Stalin knew that any attack on Poland would involve Germany in a war with both Britain and France. Moreover, Hitler would not be able to attack Russia without first invading Poland or Rumania due to geographical factors. Therefore, Stalin concluded that since he now controlled the balance of

power in Europe, he could afford to negotiate terms with Hitler which would ensure a large share of Polish territory for Russia in the event of any partition of Poland.

Moreover, Stalin was convinced that the Western powers did not trust him and his government due to ideological reasons, and therefore, an agreement with them might not be feasible. Hence he turned to Germany. This would preserve a buffer of foreign territory between his country and Germany. The Russian dictator sought to use the new found immunity to buy both time and space, and to gamble on a long, destructive war between the Central and Western powers from which he could gain both security and territory.

Negotiations between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany began in May 1939 and culminated in the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on 23 August. It provided for the division of Eastern Europe between the two dictatorships. While Russia would take East Poland, Finland, Estonia and Latvia, Germany would have West Poland and Lithuania.

Significance of the Pact

Most historians are in agreement on the following facts:

- The Nazi-Soviet Pact was born of the Franco-British guarantee to Poland.
- It was a master stroke of Hitler, in fact, had planned to destroy the Russian power.
- It made the German attack on Poland absolutely certain since any opposition from Russia was neutralized.
- For Stalin, the Pact gave time to strengthen country's defence forces, whose morale had been badly affected by the purges of 1938. He also hoped to expand and consolidate Soviet territory in Eastern Europe. David Thomson, discussing the significance of the pact, remarks:

'He (Hitler) even hoped that the dramatic publication of the pact might stun Britain and France into repudiating their pledges to Poland, and experimented with conciliatory gestures. This hope was dispelled when Chamberlain wrote to him affirming categorically Britain's determination to stand by her pledges.'

Blitzkrieg: The Invasion of Poland

The Nazi-Soviet Pact precipitated the War. Most historians, however, hold Hitler responsible for it. The event that set Europe and the world ablaze was the invasion of Poland by the Nazi *Wehrmacht* on 1 September 1939.

Having neutralized the Soviet Union, Poland's biggest neighbour, the Nazi Army and Air Force (*Luftwaffe*) struck all along the Polish frontier. Poland's Anglo-French Allies were shocked that the Fuehrer had launched invasion of a country they had pledged to defend. Even Hitler had signed a 10-year Non-Aggression Pact with it in 1934. They fervently hoped that the dictator of Germany might once again achieve his goal without a major war. Mussolini had declared his country's

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neutrality in the conflict. They were even prepared for a ‘four power’ conference to find a compromise solution to the Polish crisis. However, the British and the French Governments told Germany that unless the invasion of Poland stopped immediately, they would ‘without hesitation fulfil their obligations to Poland’. Since there was no response from Berlin even on the second day of the invasion, and the Germans continued pressing forward and plundering Poland. A worried Chamberlain and his French counterpart, Edward Daladier, decided upon war on Germany. On 3 September, the Allies declared war, and this marked the commencement of the Second World War.

The War on the Western Front

Until the Japanese attacked the Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941, the War remained essentially a European war.

Early Success

In the first phase of the War, Poland was crushed in three weeks and partitioned between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. The Russians, on their part, began to occupy the eastern areas of Poland. As Germany’s victorious onslaught continued, Stalin gained the three Baltic States of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, and half of Poland. Secure on the Western Front, Hitler’s General directed their attacks against France and Britain. In November, Russia attacked Finland; this furnished the ground for her expulsion from the League of Nations. But this did not deter Stalin from conquering Finland.

The ‘Phoney War’

Despite the feverish preparations, mobilization and “bracing for battle”, nothing much happened on the Western Front for six months. The winter of 1939 witnessed what historians term, the “Phoney war”. A few occasional skirmishes took place in the Maginot Line—a chain of fortifications that stretched 200 miles along the frontier from Switzerland north as far as Luxembourg. Also the navies were involved in spirited action at sea. On the whole, the War became a stalemate. It created a false sense of security and a mood of relaxation both in Britain and France. It also gave time for the Germans to persuade the French nation, through effective propaganda, to question the need for continuing the War. Chamberlain called these months the ‘twilight war’. For the Germans, it was the “sitting war” (Sitzkrieg) as opposed to the Polish Blitzkrieg (lightening war). However, in April 1940, the scenario changed as Hitler resumed his Blitzkrieg, and ‘the twilight became night’.

Fall of France

With a view to bypass the French border fortification, the German attacked both Holland and Belgium in May 1940. Accompanied by the deadly bombing of Luftwaffe, Hitler’s forces subjugated Norway and Denmark. The massive use of panzers and air power enabled the Nazis penetrate the French and British Armies.

Belgium was forced to withdraw from the War, and the Allies evacuated from Dunkirk. In a heroic national effort, the British evacuated 350,000 troops. A large portion of the British armed forces managed to reach England. However, the British land force had been destroyed as an instrument of war.

In the beginning of June, the Battle of France was fought. The Germans routed the French and entered Paris on 14th June. By July, France was reduced and the French Marshal, Petain, was forced to surrender. The French Army hitherto had been the chief allied instrument of war, it now lay irretrievably broken. France had to suffer humiliation at the hands of Hitler's men for what she had done to the Germans in 1918.

The Battle of Britain

After knocking France out of the War, the Nazis turned towards Britain. For two months, the Luftwaffe ceaselessly bombarded the industrial areas, ports and cities aimed at crushing the British people's will to exist. The German U-boats (submarines) attacked British ships. But the British people stood up to the German might. In the "Battle of Britain", Germany was forced to engage in a struggle of indefinite duration and doubtful outcome.

The American Attitude towards the War

President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the US had declared his administration's opposition to communism, fascism and Nazism. However, in the realm of foreign policy, his administration continued to pursue the 'Policy of Neutrality'. But as Hitler's annexations in Europe continued, the Americans embarked on an urgent programme of defence building, especially strengthening the US Navy and US Air Force. Soon after Germany's attack on Poland, the US Government increased its defence supplies to England and other nations threatened by the Nazis. Roosevelt froze the Axis assets in America, imposed restrictions on American trade with them, including Japan. Thus, the country became less and less neutral as it aided Britain and gradually got involved in the War. Naval bases, ships and arms were made available, and a 13 billion dollars' lend-lease aid to Britain was sanctioned.

The War on the Eastern Front

By the spring of 1941, Britain was retaliating with very heavy bombing raids on Germany. Worried, Hitler ordered indefinite postponement of "Operation Sea Lion". This Operation was a planned military feat, in which 90,000 Nazi soldiers were to cross the waters and into Britain, followed by 170,000 more troops in two days. But the German Navy balked, since it did not have enough ships for the adventure, hence "Operation Sea Lion" was suspended.

Hitler planned his next Blitzkrieg, the war with Russia, the country with which he had entered into a marriage of convenience in the form of Non-Aggression Pact nearly two years earlier. Apart from Soviet Russia and some neutrals, the whole continent of Europe was now under effective German control. Now the

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master of Europe, Hitler, felt comparatively free from any immediate threat of invasion from the West, and he was ready to embark upon his greatest venture of all—the attack upon his country’s ideological and military rival. His military and air force officers prepared a blue print for the invasion of Russia, known as ‘Operation Barbarossa’.

Hitler’s long-term ideological battle against Communism, his scheme of Lebensraum, and more important, the immediate need for economic exploitation of Russia’s vast food-producing and mines, mineral, oil-rich areas made an attack on it inevitable. Hitler took the world by surprise by sending a strong force of 160 divisions across the Soviet border without declaration of war. The ‘Operation Barbarossa’ was launched on 22 June 1941. Despite various warnings, the Russian preparations were not adequate, and the Nazi war machine repeated its earlier success story of the Western Front.

By the close of 1941, Moscow and Leningrad were under siege and the Nazi forces had reached the Crimes. Fortunately for Russia, its two classic assets, namely ‘general winter and space’, saved the day. Though the losses were very heavy and frightful, the Russians managed to hold out against the invading Nazi force. On 6 December 1941, the Russians launched massive counter-offensive that sent the German reeling back 50 miles by the end of the month. Moscow was saved.

In September 1942, after the Battle of Stalingrad, the Russians struck back and forced the Germans to beat a hasty retreat. Harassed both by the severity of the winter, shortage of supplies, and the scorched-earth policy and counter-attack by Russian soldiers, the mighty German Army suffered terribly. From its original strength of 330,000 officers and men, it was reduced to 12,000. This was the beginning of the end.

The War in the Mediterranean, North Africa and Pacific Regions

In this section, you will come to know about how the Second World War progressed in the Mediterranean, North Africa and Pacific regions.

The War in the Mediterranean and North Africa

When the War broke out, Mussolini’s Italy had announced her neutrality despite the Pact with Germany. But after the fall of France, Mussolini was convinced that he must be present at the kill, if for no other reason than to be in a better position to assert his future claims.

Therefore, on 10 June 1940, Italy declared war on both France and Britain. Mussolini’s main aim was to acquire the British colonies in North Africa, and capture Egypt and the Suez Canal. In September 1940, a strong Italian force invaded Egypt from Libya. But the British forces, under General Wavell, counter-attacked and captured the Italian colonies in *Eritrea*, *Abyssinia* and *Cyrenaica*.

Italy's defeats brought Germany to the Mediterranean and North African theatre of war, to rescue her ally. Under General Erwin Rommel, the Germans swept across North Africa subduing the British forces. They reached El Alamein, 80 miles off Alexandria, and the Suez Canal was threatened. In a meeting, Roosevelt and Churchill decided to mount an effective counter attack, and sent a powerful force—the Eighth Army under General Montgomery in October 1942. At the crucial Tank Battle of El Alamein, Rommel's Africa Korps and the Italian armies were decisively beaten, compelling the Nazi forces to retreat from the area across the desert westwards. Montgomery's victory turned out to be the prelude for Mussolini's fall in 1943.

Besides, North Africa fell under the control of the French Committee of National Liberation, led by General de Gaulle. Although the Germans continued to show their might in Tunisia, the combined Anglo-American forces under Montgomery and General Alexander inflicted a crushing defeat of Rommel in the Battle of Tunisia (1943). The Tunisian victory ensured for the Allies important communication lines in the Mediterranean, and enabled them to attack upon the Balkans and Italy.

The War in the Pacific

The whole war transformed by an event, far away from the European theatre. Here, the third member of the Axis, Japan, had been following the European events closely. Taking advantage of the War, it promoted an organization called the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere", a garb for her imperialism. Pursuing her undeclared war with China (1937), Japan moved into Indo-China after the French collapse in 1940. Britain was not in a position to resist Japanese advance southward. The only country in a position to offer possible resistance was the United States of America. During 1941, talks were held between Japan and the US on the question of Japanese presence in China, but the talks failed to produce any result. Therefore, the military rulers of Japan concluded that if their ambitions in South-East Asia were to be realized, the Americans must be opposed by force. Since the US Pacific Fleet was concentrated at the Pearl Harbour (Hawaii), an attack on it would cripple America's military power.

Attack on the Pearl Harbour

In December 1941, 189 Japanese bombers 'swept in low out of the morning haze' and attacked American war ships in Pearl Harbour. In this surprise air-attack, the US Navy suffered tremendous loss. The next day, the US and Britain declared war on Japan, followed soon by the British Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa). India was dragged into the war by the British, and China was also involved in it. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the US. The European war had suddenly become a world war. Soon the Central American and several South American States also declared war on the Axis. The Second World War was also fought in the Balkans and the Atlantic.

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The Allied Triumph

In 1943, the Allied forces crossed the Mediterranean region and invaded Sicily and Southern Italy. Mussolini's Fascist government collapsed and Italy surrendered unconditionally. To resist the Allied advance northward, Hitler rushed troops into Italy.

Following their great victory in the Battle of Stalingrad, the Russians seized the initiative. Materially assisted by the Americans through their Lend-Lease policy, the Red Army drove their Nazi counterpart from Russia. Thereafter, they pursued the Nazi forces through Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. In 1945, the Russians reached Eastern Germany and stormed into Berlin.

On 6 June 1944, the Anglo-American forces, under the supreme command of US General *Eisenhower* crossed the English Channel and landed in Normandy in Northern France. The invading Allied forces met a powerful German Army, which had been kept from the Russian front in anticipation of his attack. Thus, Hitler's "Fortress of Europe" was captured. The Allies pushed back the Nazi Army and drove the Germans away from the French soil.

The Victory in Europe

The final stages of Germany's defeat were rapid. In April 1945, the Russians occupied Vienna. Meanwhile the British and American Armies crossed the Rhine River and moved towards the Elbe. Here they met the Russians driving from the East. German resistance in North Italy collapsed. On 30 April 1945, Hitler committed suicide, and two days later, Mussolini met a squalid death at the hand of his own Italians. Soon thereafter, Germany surrendered unconditionally. The US President, Harry S. Truman, along with the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, officially proclaimed victory in Europe on 8 May 1945—the VE Day (Victory in Europe). Europe was liberated from the Fascist and Nazi dictatorship, but only to be replaced by another type of totalitarian regime—the Communist—in Eastern Europe.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki

During 1943, the Japanese began to suffer reverses after reverses in the Pacific theatre. In 1944, the American forces returned to the Philippines. One after the other, Japan's territorial gains were lost. Their aggressive behaviour and harsh treatment of the peoples in the occupied territories made them extremely unpopular. In early 1945, the American captured Jima and Okinawa, the Japanese island bases. From there, the US Air Force launched destructive raids upon Japan. The British and Allied land and naval forces also inflicted several crushing defeats on the Japanese Army.

In August 1945, the US dropped two atom bombs, one on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, and the other on Nagasaki, killing over a lakh of civilians and causing immense damage to life, property and environment. Russia also declared war on Japan and invaded Japanese-held Manchuria. The atomic bombing episodes and loss of its allies forced Japan to surrender unconditionally. On 2 September 1945, President Truman officially declared the V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day).

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Some Distinguishing Features of the Second World War

The major features of the Second World War are as follows:

- (i) **Total War:** The Second World War was fought not only by armed forces at the battlefields but also by civilians in factories and in their homes, including children. They actively participated in helping air-raid wardens, helping in War Bond Drives, assisting the victims of war, etc.
- (ii) **Global War:** Beginning in Europe, the War was fought on all major seas and oceans of Africa, Asia and Europe. It involved 60 nations, 7 of them on the side of the Axis.
- (iii) **Most Destructive and Costly War:** The Second World War was more destructive when compared to the First World War. Between September 1939 and August 1945, belligerent states mobilized more than 10 crore men. Though, due to the latest and sophisticated technology and weaponry (including the atomic energy) used, it is not possible to compute the exact cost of the War, it has been estimated that Germany alone spent more than US\$ 272 billion and the US more than \$30 billion. The total cost of the war materials used exceeded \$1,154 billion.

General George Marshall estimated the total lives lost in the battlefield as 15 million men. This figure does not include the loss of civilian lives and the injured or maimed. It has been calculated that due to the atrocities of the Third Reich, nearly 40 million people perished. The loss of life in the Pacific theatre of war added enormously to this figure.

- (iv) **Misuse of Human Achievements in Science and Technology:** The Second World War witnessed the blatant misuse of human scientific and technical knowledge for destructive purpose. Scientists and engineers devised or adapted for the purposes of war such inventions as radar, guided missiles, jet propelled planes, magnetic mines, atomic energy, etc. At the same time, the War also saw the use of blood plasma, *penicillin*, and sulphur drugs to save lives.
- (v) **Use of Air Power:** The War, for the first time in history, made use of air planes on a large scale for attacking the naval ships, destroying rail-roads and industrial centres. Air cover was as essential factor in major offensives on the land or in the sea, as displayed by the RAF (Royal Air Force), the Luftwaffe and the US Air Force.

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Check Your Progress

1. What was Stresa Agreement?
2. What helped the dictators in their policy of territorial aggrandizement?
3. What furnished the ground for Russia's expulsion from the League of Nations?
4. What was 'Operation Barbarossa'?

11.3 CONSEQUENCES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War affected the World more seriously when compared to the First World War. The economic, political and social consequences of the War were far reaching. We will briefly examine them in this section.

Economic consequences of the War

The economic consequences of the War are as follows:

- The Second World War was the costliest war in history. It involved a military expenditure of over US\$ 1,100 billion. Property worth more than \$250 billion was destroyed, shattering the economy of several countries.
- Countries of Europe and Asia, ravaged by the War, faced difficult problems of economic recovery, enabling the Communist economic system to spread from Soviet Russia to Eastern and Central Europe, and to several Asian nations.
- The defeated nations had to pay heavy indemnities, amounting to billions of dollars.

Social consequences of the War

The social consequences of the War are as follows:

- It was the most destructive war in the history of humankind. It took lives of 22 million soldiers and civilians, and over 34 million were wounded.
- Several million people were uprooted from their native soil. Enormous amount of money and effort was needed to rebuild the lives of the refugees and displaced persons.

Political consequences of the War

The political consequences of the War are as follows:

- (a) **Collapse and overthrow of the totalitarian regimes:** The dictatorial regimes of Hitler, Mussolini and of the military rulers of Japan collapsed in

the wake of the defeat of these countries. While Germany passed under the joint control of the four Allied powers, Japan was brought under American military occupation. In Italy, people opted for a liberal system of government.

- (b) **Decline of Britain and France:** The War exhausted both France and Britain militarily and economically. They declined as world powers and gradually relinquished major portions of their empires.
- (c) **Emergence of the US and the Soviet Union as Super Powers:** A significant outcome of the Second World War was the emergence of the US and the Soviet Union as the Super Powers. While the former claimed the leadership of the “democratic and free world”, Russia assumed leadership of the communist countries, particularly of Eastern Europe. With the decline of European powers after the War, the Soviet Union and the United States emerged as the two leading poles in the world. Soon these two blocs came into conflict. The Cold War that followed the Second World War, was essentially ideological, military, diplomatic, economic, technological and other forms of manoeuvres. Soon, the countries of the world came to be divided into two ideological-cum-military blocs.
- (d) **Downfall of Imperialism and the emergence of new nations:** By weakening Britain, France and Holland, the chief imperial power, the War enabled intensification of national liberation struggles in Asia and Africa. This hastened the downfall of the Western imperialism and the emergence of independent countries such as India, Pakistan, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Malaya and Indonesia.
- (e) **General effect:** The world post-Second World War was beset with serious social and economic problems. Mounting unemployment, shortage of essential commodities, hunger, poverty and other related problems created disillusionment and unrest in the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Moreover, the misuse of the greatest human achievement in science and technology for destructive purpose (e.g., atomic energy), resulted in renewed race of armaments. The expenditure on armament research and development (R&D) was so enormous that the amount could have gone a long way to feed the hungry millions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Instead, economic disparity between the rich and poor countries of the world widened, making international cooperation rather difficult.

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Check Your Progress

5. How the Second World War was the costliest and the most destructive war in history?
6. What was the significant outcome of the Second World War in context of superpowers?

11.4 U.N.O: ORGANS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

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Like the First World War, the Second World War also inspired the formation of an international organization on the model of the League of Nations, to preserve peace and promote international understanding.

The impact of the Second World War was felt by all countries and in almost all spheres of their social, economic, political and cultural life. But it did not solve the problem of which it had been waged. Hardly the War had ended, the Cold War began. Armament race was again intensified and the world was divided into two military blocs, thus endangering international peace and tranquillity. The only hope that the humanity could have of avoiding another world conflict rested in the effectiveness of United Nations Organizations (UNO).

After several conferences and meetings of the “Big Three”, the UNO finally was born on 24 October 1945. The United States became the first country to ratify the Charter as the American Senate overwhelmingly approved their country’s membership. Also, the administration of President Truman provided the UNO headquarters in New York City. Even before attaining full Independence, Jawaharlal Nehru declared India’s full support to the world body.



Fig 11.1 Yalta Conference and the ‘Big Three’: Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin

Nature of the UNO

The UNO was meant to be an entirely new departure, and in several respects, it did differ from the League of Nations. One notable feature of the new body was the absence of any provision linking it to a peace settlement. Yet, perhaps its most significant feature, both with respect to its essence and its structure, was its similarity to what in 1945 was seen “as an abortive precedent”. Evidently, the United Nations was not intended to be any more of a world government than the League of Nations had been. In fact, like the League, it was also depended on the consensus of its member-states. Moreover, it acknowledged that the Great powers had a

special role to play. In fact, the world body was completely under the sway of the US. In 1945, it was essentially an organization controlled and dominated by the Western Powers, in spite of the Soviet Union.

Aims and Objectives of the UNO

The aims and objectives of the UNO have been elaborately mentioned in its Preamble. We may summarize them as under:

- (i) To maintain international peace and security.
- (ii) By collective action, to remove threats to peace and suppress acts of aggression.
- (iii) To develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples.
- (iv) To promote respect for human rights without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.
- (iv) To encourage international cooperation in solving social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

Basic principles of the UNO are as follows:

- Equality of all member-nations
- Membership is open to all peace-loving nations
- New members can be admitted by a 2/3 majority of votes of the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council.
- Each member is expected to fulfil its obligation in good faith.
- No member nation shall resort to force against any State and no other State shall support the Aggressor State.
- The UNO shall not intervene in internal or domestic affairs of any country.
- Action against an erring member shall be recommended by the Security Council to the General Assembly.

Principal Organs of the UNO

Article 7 of the UN Charter has mentioned six main organs of the UNO. They are as follows:

- (i) The General Assembly
- (ii) The Security Council
- (iii) The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
- (iv) The Trusteeship Council
- (v) The Secretariat
- (vi) The International Court of Justice

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The General Assembly

The General Assembly is a sort of legislative body of the UNO. All member-nations have representation in it; each member-state can send five representatives but has only one vote. It meets once in a year, though there can be a special session. The Assembly elects its own President and Vice President. Although normal issues require only a simple majority to decide, all “important questions” require a two-third majority.

Powers of the General Assembly

The important powers of the General Assembly are to:

- (a) Discuss international problems fully and freely.
- (b) Make recommendations to member-nations, to the Economic and Social Council, to the Security Council, and to the Trusteeship Council.
- (c) Elect members of the organs of the UNO such as the Security Council, ECOSOC and International Court of Justice.
- (d) With the prior recommendation of the Security Council, to suspend or expel any member nation persistently violating UN principles.
- (e) Admit “peace-loving” nations to membership.
- (f) Approve the budget of the UN and apportion the expenses among the member-nation.
- (g) Propose amendments to the UN Charter, which would come into effect when ratified by two-third of the member-nations, including the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

Significantly, in 1945, out of the 51 member-nations of the UNO, 36 belonged to Europe and America, and only 15 to Asia, Australia and Africa. This enabled the US to maintain its influence effectively through its pro-Western allies over every decision of the General Assembly.

The Security Council

The Security Council is the executive body of the UNO, and hence it occupies an important position in the world organization. Article 23 of the UN Charter fixed the number of its members at eleven, five of whom were designated as the Permanent Members of the Council. They were the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. The remaining were the non-Permanent members, elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years.

The Security Council meets more often and follows its own rules of procedure, including the selection of its President. Decisions on important issues require the affirmative vote of all the five Permanent members. Thus by a negative vote (veto), any one of them could defeat a decision of the Security Council. However, abstention from voting by a Permanent member is not considered a veto.

Powers of the Security Council

The UN Charter has laid down the powers and responsibilities of the Security Council. Among its main responsibilities and powers, the important ones are as follows:

- (a) Its primary responsibility is to maintain international peace and security. In the discharge of its obligation, the Security Council may investigate disputes that could endanger peace, make recommendations for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, or if necessary, call upon the UN member-nation to take economic or military action against an aggressor nation. All member nations are expected to carry out the divisions of the Council.
- (b) It has jurisdiction in matters such as the admission of new members, selection of the Secretary-General of the UN, and the judges of the International Court of Justice.
- (c) The Council is empowered to exercise all vital functions of the UN including the approval of the terms of the Trusteeship agreements and related matters.
- (d) The Security Council has Military Advisory committee to advise it regarding the use of armed force to preserve international peace.
- (e) It avails of the plans drawn up by disarmament Commission for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Security Council reflected the preponderance of the Great Powers in world politics. The superiority of the Great Powers was recognized by their possession of the veto. It was an important privilege in view of the fact that the Security Council alone could make divisions binding on member-states, in the primary area of responsibility i.e., international security. Moreover, the denial of similar power to the Non-Permanent members of the Council enabled any one of the Permanent members to nullify their proposals, even if they were all in agreement on a particular issue.

Moreover, despite the enhanced position of the General Assembly, ultimate authority still lies with the Great Powers, who are the Permanent members of the Security Council.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

The economic and social functions of the UNO were placed in the hands of the Economic and Social Council, consisting of 18 members. This body presided over a broad range of activities, second only in importance to those directed by the Security Council. Its members are elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years.

The objective of the ECOSOC has been to solve the international economic, social, educational, health and cultural problems. It was established for the purpose

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of promoting, encouraging and respecting human rights and freedom. Through its efforts, the UN has been trying to eliminate the underlying causes of war. It has been assisting the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council in matters relating to its area of operation. Since 1947, several regional economic commissions have been set up which come under the jurisdiction of the ECOSOC.

ECOSOC Commissions and Committees

To further its objectives, ECOSOC organized commissions and committee such as:

- (a) The Commission on Human Rights seeks to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all persons.
- (b) Other commissions and committees concerned with such problems as control of narcotics, prevention of crime, and improving the position of women.
- (c) The EOCSOC also receives reports from such UN bodies as the UN Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the High Commissioner for Refugees and the UN Development Programme.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship System was the outgrowth of the Mandate System of the League of Nations. Following the Second World War, the defeated powers were deprived of their colonies in Asia and Africa. The former colonies of Italy and Japan, together with the remaining mandates, were placed under the United Nations supervision as trust territories. Countries administering trusteeships pledged to prepare the peoples of the former colonies under their trusteeship for self-government under the supervision of the UN trusteeship Council.

The trust territories were divided into strategic and non-strategic areas. The former were placed under the control of the Security Council, and the latter under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. As trusteeships, Italy retained Italian Somaliland, Austria and New Guinea, the US received the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific. Besides, Cameroon, Togoland, Tanganyika, and some other territories were placed under the Trusteeship of as many as 12 nations such as the Big Five Powers, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium and Italy.

The Trusteeship Council consisted in equal number of nations administering and nations not administering trust territories. It also included all the Permanent members of the Security Council. The following were the powers and functions of the Council:

- (i) It considered reports submitted by the administering nations.
- (ii) It accepted and examined petition from the peoples of the trust territories.

- (iii) It sent, with the consent of the administering nation, an investigating committee, to inquire into the complaints of the peoples of the trust territories.
- (iv) It submitted to the General Assembly an annual progress report based on the replies received from the trustee nations to its questionnaires.
- (v) It exercised supervision over the administration of trust territories.

The main objective of the Council was the advancement of political, economic, social and educational life of the peoples with a view to develop self-government in trust territories and eventually their independence.

The Secretariat

The Secretariat is the administrative organ of the UNO. It is headquartered at New York. It is headed by the Secretary General. The personnel of the UN Secretariat are recruited from different member-nations, but the Secretary General and his staff are completely independent of the authority of any individual country in the discharge of their duties. The UN Charter enjoins the members-states to respect the international character of the Secretariat. The primary loyalty of the Secretariat is to the United Nations.

The Secretary General according to Article 97 of the UN Charter, is appointed for a five-year term by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He selects and directs his staff to perform the electrical and administrative work of the UNO. In addition, he is authorized to:

- (i) Bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter threatening world peace.
- (ii) Perform any other task entrusted to him by the major organs of the UN, including diplomatic missions and directing the UN emergency military forces.

In appointing the members of his staff, the Secretary General is expected to recruit them from as many different member-nations as possible and ensure the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. The Secretary General's position has a high potential for political influence. For instance, General Trygve Lie of Norway, the first Secretary General, played an active role in diffusing international tensions. The Secretary General, through his annual report and personnel equation with world leaders can create a climate favourable for international peace. It is rightly held that on him rests, to some extent, the effectiveness of the world body by advancing its aims and objects.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is an important organ of the UNO. It replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations. It meets in the same building occupied by the Permanent Court of International Justice at Hague.

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The International Court of Justice consists of 15 judges, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, for a term of nine years. The Court's jurisdiction extends to all states who agree to accept its verdicts. It has the power to:

- (a) Settle legal disputes between nations
- (b) Give its advisory opinion to the UN organs on legal questions

Nations submitting disputes to the Court agree in advance to accept its decisions, though it has been observed that often nations, including the US have shown the tendencies to flout its verdict. It may be remembered that only States, and not individuals, could approach the World Court.

Specialized Agencies of the UNO

The UN Charter has also provided for the creation of certain Specialized Agencies to deal with the social, economic, cultural, scientific, educational and humanitarian activities of the World Body. Some of these have been associated with the ECOSOC for coordinating their activities with the UN. The Specialized Agencies are independent organizations with their own secretariats, Elective bodies and executive councils. Some of them predate the United Nations, and came into existence by inter-governmental agreement. They include most (but not all) nations as members. They secure their funds chiefly by voluntary contributions from member-nations. The Specialized Agencies created after the establishment of the UNO are given below.

- (i) **The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):** Established in April 1944, by a conference of the Allied powers in London, the UNESCO has been doing remarkable work in the fields of education, natural and social sciences, cultural activities, mass communication, relief services, and technical aid to developing countries. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution mentions that 'since war being in the minds of men, it is in the mind of men that defences of peace must be constructed'. With this aim, it had, since its inception, undertaken various projects to raise educational standards, exchange visits by experts, cultural exchanges to promote cooperation among countries, and to combat ignorance and prejudice.
- (ii) **The International Labour Organization (ILO):** The ILO had been established in 1919 and was inherited by the UN from the League of Nations. Since 1919, it had been endeavouring to improve the conditions of labour all over the world. Its experts have been serving in several countries in the varied fields of productivity, management development, social security, vocational guidance and training, imparting technical education to workers, teaching industrial hygiene and better industrial relations, training for the blind, etc. It also defines the minimum labour standards and assists countries in formulating Labour Laws.

- (iii) **The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO):** The FAO has been concerned mainly with the perennial problem of “hunger” with a view to tackle this serious malady it had been making attempts to raise food production in the world and improve the nutrition levels in the underdeveloped and developing countries. It provides information to improve methods of cultivation and distribution of agricultural products. The FAO also has been assisting countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in pest control, use of better scientific farming, fisheries and forestry, thereby bringing the UN in active contact with the common people in different countries.
- (iv) **The World Health Organization (WHO):** Created in July 1946 at New York, the WHO has done remarkable service to humankind by seeking to improve world health standards. It surveys health conditions, combat mass disease and epidemics like malaria and small pox, and helps nations to improve public health services. WHO’s campaigns against Cancer and Syphilis is well known. Besides, it has been rendering invaluable aid to the victims of earthquakes and other natural calamities.
- (v) **The International Monetary Fund (IMF):** The IMF came into existence in 1944 as a result of the discussions between 44 countries at Bretton Woods Conference in the US. The aim of the Fund has been to help in promoting international trade. One of its important objectives has been to help nations to maintain stable currencies.
- (vi) **The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank):** The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 also led to the creation of the World Bank with the avowed object of encouraging world economic progress by providing loans for large-scale rebuilding development projects, such as railroads, highways and electric power plants. However, from the very beginning, the activities of the Bank were influenced by political considerations. Moreover, it is under the commanding influence of the US.
- (vii) **The United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF):** The UNICEF was established on 11 December 1946 with a view to provide relief to poverty-stricken children in the underdeveloped countries and arrange for their rehabilitation. Within a span of four years i.e., by 1950, it provided relief supplies to more than 12 nations, irrespective of race, religion, nationality or political ideology.

The UNICEF’s immediate concern was to provide relief and secure rehabilitation for the unfortunate children; but soon the UNICEF realized that it was of vital importance to enhance the capacities of the governments of the countries concerned to institute permanent programmes for child welfare and health. As David Thomson has pointed out:

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‘...raising funds from governments and through public appeals, it fed over five million hungry or starving children in a dozen European countries and Asia. When created, the UNICEF was intended to meet an emergency, and perhaps was a temporary organization, but the problems of hunger proved so perennial that is still active in 1993!’

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In 1965, the UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Prize for its noble and humanitarian activities.

Other specialized agencies of the UNO

Among the other Specialized Agencies of the UNO, we may mention the following:

- (a) The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICA) which works to expand and improve civil aviation and to standardize laws regarding use of airlines.
- (b) The Universal Postal Union (UPO) provides international postal services including fixing uniform mail procedure for parcel, money orders, subscription to newspapers and magazines etc. It has its headquarters at Berne (Switzerland).
- (c) The World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) was created for the purpose of coordinating data on weather and develop weather-forecasting services.
- (d) The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was set up in Geneva in 1964. Its purpose has been to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations by lowering the tariff barriers to enable the developing countries to actively engage in international trade and commerce.

Check Your Progress

7. List the principal organs of the UNO.
8. What is veto?
9. What is the objective of the Trusteeship Council of the UNO?

11.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. In 1935, the British Government signed the Stresa Agreement which permitted Germany a navy roughly 35 per cent of the size of the British Navy.
2. The vacillating diplomacy of Britain and France, the aloofness of the US from the affairs of Europe and the deliberate attempts to keep the Soviet Union from active participation in the European affairs helped the dictators in their policy of territorial aggrandizement.

3. In the first phase of the War, Russia attacked Finland which furnished the ground for her expulsion from the League of Nations.
4. Hitler's military and air force officers prepared a blue print for the invasion of Russia, known as 'Operation Barbarossa'.
5. The Second World War was the costliest and the most destructive war in history as it involved a military expenditure of over US\$ 1,100 billion and property worth more than \$250 billion was destroyed. It took lives of 22 million soldiers and civilians, and over 34 million were wounded.
6. A significant outcome of the Second World War was the emergence of the US and the Soviet Union as the Super Powers. While the former claimed the leadership of the "democratic and free world", Russia assumed leadership of the communist countries, particularly of Eastern Europe.
7. Article 7 of the UN Charter has mentioned six main organs of the UNO. They are as follows:
 - (i) The General Assembly
 - (ii) The Security Council
 - (iii) The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
 - (iv) The Trusteeship Council
 - (v) The Secretariat
 - (vi) The International Court of Justice
8. Veto is a negative vote using which any of the Permanent members of the Security Council can defeat a decision of the Security Council.
9. The main objective of the Council was the advancement of political, economic, social and educational life of the peoples with a view to develop self-government in trust territories and eventually their independence.

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11.6 SUMMARY

- The Second World War was the outcome of a combination of numerous factors that made peaceful coexistence impossible, though several historians hold Hitler and his Nazi regime responsible for it. The immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany.
- The Treaty of Versailles was unpopular in Germany. Likewise, Italian and Japanese nationalists were also unhappy with the outcome of the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919. Their dissatisfaction coupled with the imposed economic burden by the First World War victors had led to political instability, economic collapse and social anarchy, resulting in the emergence of dictatorial regimes in Italy, Japan, Germany, and in some smaller countries of Europe.

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- Mussolini launched the invasion of Abyssinia in October 1935. When Britain and France, under hostile public opinion, reacted strongly against it, Mussolini abandoned Italy's traditional policy of friendship with both the nations and turned to Adolph Hitler.
- In 1931, the Japanese militarists committed aggression against China in Manchuria, though both countries were members of the League. China appealed to the League under Article II to force Japan to stop the aggression. Although the League condemned Japan for her Manchurian aggression and contemplated sanction, it was not able to force Japan to withdraw from Manchuria. The inaction of the League and the US and their ineffectualness encouraged the European dictators who were planning similar aggression.
- In 1936, the fascist dictator of Italy and the Nazi dictator of Germany came together and signed a military assistance pact, known as the Rome-Berlin Pact. Shortly, Japan also joined the alliance, creating thereby the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Soon afterwards the three signed a common agreement against Communism, known as the Anti-Comintern Pact or League.
- The vacillating diplomacy of Britain and France, the aloofness of the US from the affairs of Europe and the deliberate attempts to keep the Soviet Union from active participation in the European affairs helped the dictators in their policy of territorial aggrandizement.
- The failure of the non-Fascist and non-Nazi nations to untidily check the expansionist policies of Italy, Germany and Japan had the effect of a shift in the balance of power from the Allies to the Axis.
- For three years, before Second World War broke out, attention of the European diplomats was focused on a policy shaped by Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, which came to be known as the "Policy of Appeasement".
- Italian Fascism and German Nazism were fanatically nationalist movements, with limited aim and which they were determined to achieve through fair or foul means.
- The Policy of Appeasement achieved the following:
 - It postponed the inevitability of war by some months.
 - It gave a breathing spell both to the Allies and the Axis before the actual hostilities began.
 - It strengthened the dictators for making further aggression. Hitler could use the interval to consolidate the existing conquests, build the Siegfried Line or West Wall and complete the preparations for a general war.
- In the third conference held in Munich on 30 September 1938, the British, French, German and Italian leaders agreed that the German Army should occupy the Sudeanland as demanded by Hitler and parts of Czechoslovakia should go to Poland and Hungary.

- Both Hitler and Stalin knew that any attack on Poland would involve Germany in a war with both Britain and France. Moreover, Hitler would not be able to attack Russia without first invading Poland or Rumania due to geographical factors. Therefore, Stalin concluded that since he now controlled the balance of power in Europe, he could afford to negotiate terms with Hitler which would ensure a large share of Polish territory for Russia in the event of any partition of Poland.
- Negotiations between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany began in May 1939 and culminated in the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on 23 August. It provided for the division of Eastern Europe between the two dictatorships. While Russia would take East Poland, Finland, Estonia and Latvia, Germany would have West Poland and Lithuania.
- French Governments told Germany that unless the invasion of Poland stopped immediately, they would ‘without hesitation fulfil their obligations to Poland’. Since there was no response from Berlin even on the second day of the invasion, and the Germans continued pressing forward and plundering Poland. A worried Chamberlain and his French counterpart, Edward Daladier, decided upon war on Germany. On 3 September, the Allies declared war, and this marked the commencement of the Second World War.
- In the first phase of the War, Poland was crushed in three weeks and partitioned between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. The Russians, on their part, began to occupy the eastern areas of Poland. As Germany’s victorious onslaught continued, Stalin gained the three Baltic States of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, and half of Poland.
- In the beginning of June, the Battle of France was fought. The Germans routed the French and entered Paris on 14th June. By July, France was reduced and the French Marshal, Petain, was forced to surrender. The French Army hitherto had been the chief allied instrument of war, it now lay irretrievably broken. France had to suffer humiliation at the hands of Hitler’s men for what she had done to the Germans in 1918.
- Soon after Germany’s attack on Poland, the US Government increased its defence supplies to England and other nations threatened by the Nazis. Roosevelt froze the Axis assets in America, imposed restrictions on American trade with them, including Japan. Thus, the country became less and less neutral as it aided Britain and gradually got involved in the War. Naval bases, ships and arms were made available, and a 13 billion dollars’ lend-lease aid to Britain was sanctioned.
- Hitler’s military and air force officers prepared a blue print for the invasion of Russia, known as ‘Operation Barbarossa’.
- Hitler’s long-term ideological battle against Communism, his scheme of Lebensraum, and more important, the immediate need for economic

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exploitation of Russia's vast food-producing and mines, mineral, oil-rich areas made an attack on it inevitable. Hitler took the world by surprise by sending a strong force of 160 divisions across the Soviet border without declaration of war. The 'Operation Barbarossa' was launched on 22 June 1941.

- In September 1942, after the Battle of Stalingrad, the Russians struck back and forced the Germans to beat a hasty retreat. Harassed both by the severity of the winter, shortage of supplies, and the scorched-earth policy and counter-attack by Russian soldiers, the mighty German Army suffered terribly. From its original strength of 330,000 officers and men, it was reduced to 12,000. This was the beginning of the end.
- On 10 June 1940, Italy declared war on both France and Britain. Mussolini's main aim was to acquire the British colonies in North Africa, and capture Egypt and the Suez Canal. In September 1940, a strong Italian force invaded Egypt from Libya. But the British forces, under General Wavell, counter-attacked and captured the Italian colonies in *Eritrea*, Abyssinia and Cyrenaica.
- Italy's defeats brought Germany to the Mediterranean and North African theatre of war, to rescue her ally. Under General Erwin Rommel, the Germans swept across North Africa subduing the British forces.
- At the crucial Tank Battle of El Alamein, Rommel's Africa Korps and the Italian armies were decisively beaten, compelling the Nazi forces to retreat from the area across the desert westwards. Montgomery's victory turned out to be the prelude for Mussolini's fall in 1943.
- In December 1941, 189 Japanese bombers 'swept in low out of the morning haze' and attacked American war ships in Pearl Harbour. In this surprise air-attack, the US Navy suffered tremendous loss. The next day, the US and Britain declared war on Japan, followed soon by the British Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa). India was dragged into the war by the British, and China was also involved in it. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the US. The European war had suddenly become a world war. Soon the Central American and several South American States also declared war on the Axis.
- On 6 June 1944, the Anglo-American forces, under the supreme command of US General *Eisenhower* crossed the English Channel and landed in Normandy in Northern France. The invading Allied forces met a powerful German Army, which had been kept from the Russian front in anticipation of his attack. Thus, Hitler's "Fortress of Europe" was captured. The Allies pushed back the Nazi Army and drove the Germans away from the French soil.
- In April 1945, the Russians occupied Vienna. Meanwhile the British and Americans Armies crossed the Rhine River and moved towards the Elbe.

Here they met the Russians driving from the East. German resistance in North Italy collapsed. On 30 April 1945, Hitler committed suicide, and two days later, Mussolini met a squalid death at the hand of his own Italians. Soon thereafter, Germany surrendered unconditionally.

- In August 1945, the US dropped two atom bombs, one on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, and the other on Nagasaki, killing over a lakh of civilians and causing immense damage to life, property and environment. Russia also declared war on Japan and invaded Japanese-held Manchuria. The atomic bombing episodes and loss of its allies forced Japan to surrender unconditionally. On 2 September 1945, President Truman officially declared the V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day).
- Beginning in Europe, the War was fought on all major seas and oceans of Africa, Asia and Europe. It involved 60 nations, 7 of them on the side of the Axis.
- The Second World War witnessed the blatant misuse of human scientific and technical knowledge for destructive purpose. Scientists and engineers devised or adapted for the purposes of war such inventions as radar, guided missiles, jet propelled planes, magnetic mines, atomic energy, etc. At the same time, the War also saw the use of blood plasma, *penicillin*, and sulphur drugs to save lives.
- A significant outcome of the Second World War was the emergence of the US and the Soviet Union as the Super Powers. While the former claimed the leadership of the “democratic and free world”, Russia assumed leadership of the communist countries, particularly of Eastern Europe.
- After several conferences and meetings of the “Big Three”, the UNO finally was born on 24 October 1945. The United States became the first country to ratify the Charter as the American Senate overwhelmingly approved their country’s membership. Also, the administration of President Truman provided the UNO headquarters in New York City.
- One notable feature of the new body was the absence of any provision linking it to a peace settlement. Yet, perhaps its most significant feature, both with respect to its essence and its structure, was its similarity to what in 1945 was seen “as an abortive precedent”.
- The aims and objectives of the UNO have been elaborately mentioned in its Preamble. We may summarize them as under:
 - (i) To maintain international peace and security
 - (ii) By collective action, to remove threats to peace and suppress acts of aggression
 - (iii) To develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples

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- (iv) To promote respect for human rights without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion
- (iv) To encourage international cooperation in solving social, cultural and humanitarian problems

- The General Assembly is a sort of legislative body of the UNO. All member-nations have representation in it; each member-state can send five representatives but has only one vote. It meets once in a year, though there can be a special session.
- The Security Council is the executive body of the UNO, and hence it occupies an important position in the world organization. Article 23 of the UN Charter fixed the number of its members at eleven, five of whom were designated as the Permanent Members of the Council. They were the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. The remaining were the non-Permanent members, elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years.
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- Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was established for the purpose of promoting, encouraging and respecting human rights and freedom. Through its efforts, the UN has been trying to eliminate the underlying causes of war.
- The Trusteeship System was the outgrowth of the Mandate System of the League of Nations. Following the Second World War, the defeated powers were deprived of their colonies in Asia and Africa. The former colonies of Italy and Japan, together with the remaining mandates, were placed under the United Nations supervision as trust territories. Countries administering trusteeships pledged to prepare the peoples of the former colonies under their trusteeship for self-government under the supervision of the UN trusteeship Council.
- The Secretariat is the administrative organ of the UNO. It is headquartered at New York. It is headed by the Secretary General. The personnel of the UN Secretariat are recruited from different member-nations, but the Secretary General and his staff are completely independent of the authority of any individual country in the discharge of their duties.
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jurisdiction extends to all states who agree to accept its verdicts. It has the power to:

- (a) Settle legal disputes between nations
 - (b) Give its advisory opinion to the UN organs on legal questions
- The UN Charter has also provided for the creation of certain Specialized Agencies to deal with the social, economic, cultural, scientific, educational and humanitarian activities of the World Body. The Specialized Agencies are independent organizations with their own secretariats, Elective bodies and executive councils. Some of them predate the United Nations, and came into existence by inter-governmental agreement. They include most (but not all) nations as members.
 - WHO surveys health conditions, combats mass disease and epidemics like malaria and small pox, and helps nations to improve public health services. WHO's campaigns against Cancer and Syphilis is well known. Besides, it has been rendering invaluable aid to the victims of earthquakes and other natural calamities.
 - The UNICEF was established on 11 December 1946 with a view to provide relief to poverty-stricken children in the underdeveloped countries and arrange for their rehabilitation.

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11.7 KEY WORDS

- **Nazi:** It refers to a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party.
- **Treaty of Versailles:** It was the treaty signed in 1919 that brought a formal end to the First World War.
- **League of Nations:** It was an association of countries established in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles to promote international cooperation and achieve international peace and security. It was powerless to stop Italian, German, and Japanese expansionism leading to World War II and was replaced by the United Nations in 1945.
- **Dictatorial regime:** It is a form of government in which absolute power is concentrated in the hands of a leader, commonly identified as a dictator.
- **Imperialism:** It is a policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force.
- **Fuehrer:** It refers to a ruthless, tyrannical leader.
- **Aggrandizement:** It refers to the act of making something larger or greater. It specifically refers to inflating something or making someone appear more important or powerful than they really are.

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- **Totalitarian regime:** It is a form of government that is centralized and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state.
- **Veto:** It is a constitutional right to reject a decision or proposal made by a lawmaking body.

11.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How was the wartime alliance of Italy, Germany and Japan born?
2. What was the “Policy of Appeasement”?
3. In what sense was the Policy of Appeasement both utopian and practical?
4. What were the achievements of the Policy of Appeasement?
5. State the economic consequences of the Second World War.
6. What are the aims and objectives of the UNO?
7. Write a short note on International Court of Justice.
8. What is UNICEF?

Long Answer Questions

1. ‘Evidently, the League of Nations had become a mere paper-tiger.’ Elucidate the statement.
2. ‘In one bloodless victory, Hitler had added seven million Austrians to his Reich.’ Explain.
3. Describe the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and Soviet Russia.
4. Elaborate the major features of the Second World War.
5. Elucidate the political consequences of the Second World War.
6. State the important powers of the General Assembly.
7. Illustrate the powers of the Security Council.
8. Describe the Trusteeship Council of the UNO.

11.9 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

BLOCK V

COLD WAR AND DISARMAMENT

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UNIT 12 THE COLD WAR

Structure

- 12.0 Introduction
- 12.1 Objectives
- 12.2 The Cold War and Relations Between USA and USSR
 - 12.2.1 End of the Cold War
- 12.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 12.4 Summary
- 12.5 Key Words
- 12.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 12.7 Further Readings

12.0 INTRODUCTION

The end of the Second World War was a landmark in contemporary world politics. In 1945, the Allied Forces, led by the US, Soviet Union, Britain and France defeated the Axis Powers led by Germany, Italy and Japan, ending the Second World War (1939- 1945). The war had involved almost all the major powers of the world and spread out to regions outside Europe including Southeast Asia, China, Burma and parts of India's northeast. The war saw the loss of human lives and civilian property on a massive scale. The First World War had earlier shaken the world between 1914 and 1918. The end of the Second World War was also the beginning of the Cold War. The world war ended when the United States dropped two atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, causing Japan to surrender. Critics suggest that the US action was intended to stop the Soviet Union from making military and political gains in Asia and elsewhere and to show Moscow that the United States was supreme. US supporters have argued that the dropping of the atomic bombs was necessary to end the war quickly and to stop further loss of American and Allied lives. Whatever the motives, the consequence of the end of the Second World War was the rise of two new powers on the global stage. With the defeat of Germany and Japan, the devastation of Europe and in many other parts of the world, the United States and the Soviet Union became the greatest powers in the world with the ability to influence events anywhere on earth. While the Cold War was an outcome of the emergence of the US and the USSR as two superpowers rival to each other, it was also rooted in the understanding that the destruction caused by the use of atom bombs is too costly for any country to bear. Let's study in detail about the Cold War in the following unit.

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12.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the NATO
- Understand the causes of the Cold War
- Discuss the different phases of the Cold War
- Describe the new Cold War

12.2 THE COLD WAR AND RELATIONS BETWEEN USA AND USSR

The United States and the Soviet Union had become allies in the World Wars. In fact, after World War II, both these countries emerged as superpowers. It was by joining hands that they were able to put down the forces of fascism. But both these countries adhered to and propounded opposing ideologies. While the United States supported capitalism; the Soviet Union endorsed communism. The next fifty years were marked by a confrontation of these two ideologies. The United States supported all nations in their efforts to establish a democratic nation and towards rebuilding of the world after World War II. Through its Marshall Plan, the United States contributed millions of dollars towards the redevelopment efforts of several European nations. America felt threatened by the increasing influence of communism and tried to contain it. When the Soviet Union blockaded Berlin, the United States provided food to Berliners through airlifts.

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established in 1949 by the United States, Canada and nine other Western European nations so that countries could provide military assistance to each other if they were attacked. Russia was not far behind. The same year, it created its first atomic bomb. In response to NATO, it signed the Warsaw Pact to create its own military alliance with Eastern European nations. Stalin apportioned much of Russian money towards supporting its satellites and maintaining communism in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, China was taken over by communist forces that were able to expel Chiang Kai-shek, the nationalist leader, from China. Thus, the People's Republic of China was established under the leadership of communist leader, Mao Zedong. The United States did not recognize this new government as it had supported the nationalists in the region. However, the new communist regime had full support of the Soviet Union. The United States feared the coming together of these two fiercely communist nations. In fact, communism spread to the United States, and thus began a series of undue accusations and charges brought against people of being communists. People were suspected of being spies of the Soviet Union and China.

These illogical and unsubstantiated accusations came to be known as McCarthyism. The United States developed the hydrogen bomb in 1952, and with Stalin's death, the Soviet Union could never really stand as strong as it had earlier. The Cold War came to an end with the dissolution of the USSR.

The Cold War was based on a number of underlying assumptions. First, it assumed that the real threat to the world peace was posed by the military strength of the Soviet Union. It may be noted that the Soviet Union's military strength was virtually destroyed during the Second World War. This assumption about the Soviet Union gave rise to suspicion and hostility, and was responsible for the development of military theory of Cold War. Second, it assumed the inevitability of conflict between the Socialist and Capitalist states, which prompted the states of both the blocs to keep themselves in a condition of constant preparedness for a final show down at any point of time. It assumed that no cooperation was possible between states with different social systems. It was on account of this feeling that the Western powers equated all socialist movements with subversive movements. This explains the American interventions from Greece and Turkey in 1947 to Vietnam. It assumed that the struggle between West and East was a struggle between freedom and tyranny. These two opposing worldviews were at constant loggerheads and formed the basis of the Cold War which came to an end with the ultimate collapse of Communism in the USSR and several other East European nations.

Causes of the Cold War

There were deep-rooted ideological, economic, and political differences between the United States and the Soviet Union before the Second World War. These differences were intensified further after the Second World War. The political ideologies practiced by these two powers drew several countries into these two opposing blocs and the entire process triggered the Cold War.

Ideological basis

The basic cause of conflict lay in the differences of principles between the Communist states and the Capitalist or the liberal democratic states. Two divergently opposing systems of government were represented by the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The Communist system of organizing the state and society was based on Karl Marx ideas who believed that state's wealth should be owned collectively and shared by everybody. Marx advocated that the economy should be centrally planned and working classes interest and well being should be safeguarded through state policies. On the other hand, the capitalist or the liberal democratic system functioned on private ownership of a country's wealth. Private enterprise in search of making profits and power preservation of private wealth were the driving forces behind capitalism. So, since 1917 when the world's first communist government was set up in Russia, the governments of most capitalist states saw it with mistrust and were afraid of Communism spreading to their countries. In 1998 when civil war broke out in Russia, several capitalist states

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such as the USA, Great Britain, France and Japan sent army troupes to Russia to help the anti-communist forces. But, the Communists won the War and in 1929 when Stalin became leader he was convinced that capitalist would attempt again to destroy Communism in Russia. The German invasion of Russia in 1941 proved him right. So, the opposing ideologies practiced by both the countries eventually turned out to be the measure cause that triggered the Cold War.

Political basis

The Soviet Union tried to increase its political influence in the Eastern Europe in violation of the terms of Yalta Agreement. Firstly, the Soviet Union established a Communist government in Poland in violation of its commitment that the exiled Polish government at London and the Soviet influenced Lublin government would be duly represented in the future government of Poland. It also tried to liquidate the democratic parties and non-communist population of Poland.

Secondly, the Soviet Union also tried to establish communist governments in the Balkans despite an understanding with Great Britain regarding their spheres of influence in the region. All this aroused the suspicion of the Western powers and they decided to check further expansion of Soviet influence.

Thirdly, in case of Iran also the Soviet Union violated the agreement and refused to withdraw its forces from there, and forced a rebellion in Northern Ireland. In April 1946, the Soviet Union compelled Iran to sign a treaty that recognised Soviet interest over its oil resources for 25 years through a 'Soviet-Persian Oil Company', in return for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. This was in complete contrast to the policy adopted by Great Britain and USA which withdrew their forces from Iran as per the 1942 terms of Agreement. The question of presence of Soviet forces in Iran was raised in the United Nation and ultimately the Soviet Union was made to withdraw its forces from Iran. This policy of Soviet Union largely contributed to escalating tensions with the Western powers. Fourthly, the Soviet Union supported the communists to pull down a legally constituted government in Greece which pushed the country to a civil war. This was greatly resented by USA and Britain, and they extended every support to save the democratic government in Greece.

Fifthly, the Soviet government put undue pressure on Turkey to modify the Straits convention and demanded certain territories. As Turkey refused to oblige, the Soviet Union began to create trouble in Turkey. The US came to the rescue of Turkey. The growing Communist threats in Greece and Turkey led to the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine by USA which pledged support to people who were resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. Sixthly, the attitude adopted by the Soviet Union towards Germany also greatly contributed to Cold War. The Soviet Union unmindful of its commitments in the Potsdam Agreement and London Protocol tried to put unnecessary burden on German territory under its occupation. It also deprived the people of their fundamental political freedom. The Western powers greatly resented this act of the Soviet Union.

Seventhly, the refusal of recognition to the government of Bulgaria and Romania by the United States and other Western powers also generated tension between the two blocs. The plea of the Western powers that they had refused to extend recognition to these countries citing they lacked popular representation, could not satisfy the Russians and hiked tension further.

Eighthly, during the initial years of the establishment of the United Nations, the Soviet Union used its veto power frequently, which was another main cause for generating tension between the Soviet Union and America. It convinced the Americans that the Soviet Union was systematically foiling all their plans. On the other hand, the Soviet Union raised objections that since the United States had manipulated majority in the Security Council, it had no other choice but to make frequent use of its veto power. This sense of distrust towards each other led to frequent tensions during the Cold War. Bitter criticism of the capitalist system and vociferous propaganda against the United States added fuel to the fire.

Ninthly, the inordinate delay by the Western powers in opening the second front during the Second World War and the consequential losses suffered by the Soviet Union made it suspicious about the real designs of the Western powers. The inadequate aid given by the Western powers to the Soviet Union during the War also raised doubts in the minds of the Russians. The abrupt suspension of the aids by the United States to the Soviet Union soon after the surrender of Germany convinced the Soviet leaders that the Western powers were jealous of their progress. This atmosphere of suspicion and doubt reached its height due to an attempt on the part of USA and Britain to keep their programme of atom bomb secret from the Soviet Union and other East European countries. Finally, after the Second World War, with the decline of Europe, power was largely shared between the Soviet Union and the United States. As one wanted to dominate the other, conflicts were inevitable. On the other hand, the United States wanted to encourage free trade throughout the world. The Soviet Union wanted to shield off its own sphere from international commerce. Russia feared that trade with the West would involve the risk of Russia being opened to Western influences which would have eroded the strength of the totalitarian regime. These differences led to much ill feeling between the United States and the Soviet Union.

During the 1950s, most Western historians blamed Stalin for the Cold War and argued that Stalin's motives were sinister and he intended to spread Communism as widely as possible through Europe and Asia. The formation of NATO and the American entry into the Korean War in 1950 were the West's self defence against Communist aggression. However, many Soviet historians during the 1960s and 1970s argued that the Cold War was not the creation of Stalin and the Russians. Their theory was that Russia had suffered enormous losses during the War, and therefore it was only to be expected that Soviet would try to make sure that neighbouring states were friendly, given Russia's weakness in 1945. They believed that Stalin's motives were purely defensive and that there was no real threat to the West from the Russians. Even some Americans claimed that the US

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should have been more understanding and should not have challenged the idea of a Soviet 'sphere of influence' in Eastern Europe. The actions of American politicians, especially Truman, provoked the Russians to engage in hostility. As a matter of fact, during the 1960s many people in the US became critical of America's foreign policy, especially American involvement in the Vietnam War. This is known among historians as the 'revisionist view'.

Much later some American historians put forward their view in the 1980s, known as the post-revisionist interpretation. The new evidence suggested that the situation at the end of the Cold War was far more complicated than earlier historians had realised. This led them to take a middle view, arguing that both sides are to be equally blamed for the Cold War. They believed that the American economic policies were deliberately designed to increase US political influence in Europe. However, they also believed that although Stalin had no long-term plans to spread Communism, he was an opportunist who wanted to take advantage of any weakness in the West to expand Soviet influence. With their entrenched positions and deep suspicions, the US and the USSR created an atmosphere in which every international act could be interpreted in two ways. However, open war was avoided because the Americans were reluctant to use the atomic bomb again unless attacked directly, while the Russians dared not risk such an attack.

Phases of Cold War, Treaties and Rivalries

The Cold War intensified through various phases. The first phase lasted from 1946 to 49. During this period, it was believed that if strong pressure could be built up, the Red Regime in Soviet Union would collapse. This feeling arose because America was having the monopoly of atom bomb and in that matter Russia was very weak. Therefore, it was believed that USA due to its superiority in military could determine the history of the world and influence the internal affairs of Soviet Union. The policy of containing Soviet Union could not be implemented because the Allies of America were not yet fully armed for such a war and the memories of the Second World War were still fresh in their mind, which prevented them from resorting to war.

During the first phase, America resorted to direct military intervention through the Truman Doctrine of March 1947 and followed the policy of intervention as a defender of status quo. This phase was marked by anti-Communist feeling, which USA tried to spread throughout the world. This phase of Cold War ended with the conclusion of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. The US, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Italy, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington on 4 April 1949. According to the partners of the Treaty, the Russian Communism, an anti-democratic ideology, had posed a new risk to the democratic world. Thus, they mentioned that if there was an armed attack against one or more of them the same shall be considered an attack against all of them. They agreed to take necessary action including the use of armed forces in the event of such an attack,

for the preservation of peace and their civilised way of life. This regional security measure for the North Atlantic area defence was valid for 20 years. As a result of this Treaty, the Western Europe nations were drawn together under the American leadership. The headquarters of NATO known as the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) was established at Paris. This Treaty was sort of new anti-Comintern Pact and was openly directed against the Soviet Union. These activities of USA naturally provoked the Soviet Union to take necessary measures for self-defence. The second phase of a Cold War lasted from 1949 to 1953. During this period, USA continued its policy of military and economic assistance against the Soviet Union. Throughout this period USA concluded security treaties with Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS) and the Peace Treaty with Japan in 1951.

This period also witnessed the Korean War, which was a major confrontation between USA and the Soviet Union. The US intensified its anti-Communist propaganda and spent millions of dollars for the purpose. It also invested huge amounts to carry out subversive activities in the Communist countries. This provoked natural reaction from the Soviet Union, which detonated the atom bomb and broke down the American monopoly.

The third phase of the Cold War lasted from 1953 to 1957. During this phase USA continued its Policy of Military and Economic Offensive. America during this period organised the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO). These two defence treaties became new defence links with NATO. America also made a series of efforts to perpetuate American domination in the Middle East by extending the Truman Doctrine to this area. America also established a number of military bases around Soviet territory and concluded defence treaties with 43 states. It was also during this period that USA involved itself in Vietnam, which turned out to be a grim climax of the Cold War. During this phase, the Soviet Union also increased its influence and sponsored the Warsaw Treaty with East European powers as a counter measure to NATO. In May 1955, the Soviet Union concluded the Warsaw Pact with her satellites. The Warsaw Pact included all Communist states in Europe except Yugoslavia, Soviet Russia, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. 'The Pact spoke of peaceful intentions and defence. It precluded its members to participate in any other coalition or alliance but it assured members of immediate assistance, including the use of armed force, in the event of armed aggression. To provide for military assistance, a Russian Supreme Commander was appointed to lead the combined armed forces of its members. A Consultative Committee was established to foster political understanding of its members.'

With this defence treaty, the Soviet foiled the American attempt to promote counter-revolution in Hungary. This period also witnessed the permanency of the Potsdam partition of Germany. The subsequent establishment of two German states allied to the two blocs was also the outcome of the Cold War during this period.

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The phase witnessed simultaneous explosion of hydrogen bombs by USA and the Soviet Union. During this period, a dialogue between the two countries was opened which revealed that a spirit of negotiations and not mutual threats of extermination would mark the next phase of international relations. The fourth phase lasted from 1957 to 1962. After the death of Stalin in 1953, the new Russian leadership began to talk about peaceful co-existence, and the frozen atmosphere of the Cold War between the two blocs began to melt. On one hand, the principles of peaceful co-existence were asserted and on the other hand, it saw the most dangerous Cuban missile crisis. During the initial days, the spirit of coexistence prevailed. The US and the Soviet Russia exchanged political and cultural delegates. The heads of two countries paid visit to each other. The Agreement of Paris Summit clearly demonstrated that the Cold War attitude had ended. However, this spirit was sabotaged by the U-2 incident. The damage done by the U-2 incident was partly repaired by the General Assembly Summit of 1960 and the Vietnam meeting of Khrushchev and President Kennedy in 1961. Nevertheless, the Cuban crisis literally brought the two countries to the verge of war. However, the situation was finally saved by an agreement between Khrushchev and Kennedy by which the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw the missile base in exchange for the American guarantee of never to invade Cuba.

The fifth phase started from 1962 and was marked by a deep appreciation of futility of nuclear war strategy. The phase saw the conclusion of 'Partial Test Ban Treaty' of 1963. The 'Geneva Hot Line Agreement' of 1963 closely linked the two countries. The Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 could also be concluded due to the understanding of the two powers. However, even during this period the problems of Germany and Vietnam stood in the way of full co-operation between the two countries.

A process of détente between the two major powers started in 1959 when Khrushchev advocated the policy of peaceful co-existence. In pursuance of this policy, he visited Washington and met President Eisenhower. On this occasion, he also addressed the General Assembly of the UN and proposed that within 4 years all the states should completely disarm themselves. Another important step in the direction of lessening the Cold War was the 'Three Power Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty' formally signed on 5 August 1963. This Treaty provided for a limited ban on all nuclear tests in the atmosphere including territorial waters and high seas. On the recommendation of the UN General Assembly, the US, the Soviet Union and Britain adopted the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Under this Treaty, the nuclear powers agreed not to transfer their nuclear weapons or control over them to any non-nuclear power or to provide assistance in producing those weapons.

The Cold War assumed a new dimension in the wake of Sino-Soviet rift in early 1960s. In the wake of American bombing of North Vietnam, the Arab-Israel conflict of 1967 and the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Cold War assumed a more serious shape. During the Berlin crisis of 1969, there was a possibility of direct confrontation between the two Super Powers. However, by

1970 the tension subsided and both the powers agreed not to use force against each other. In the meantime, the Soviet Union concluded a treaty with West Germany under which it agreed to have diplomatic relations with West Germany and not to use force against it. This Treaty of Soviet Union reduced the tension in Europe. As a result, of the agreement over Berlin in August 1971, between USA, Britain, the USSR and France the tension further reduced. The agreements between North Korea and South Korea in July 1972, and East Germany and West Germany in November 1972 also contributed to the reduction of tension between the two Super Powers.

In the field of arms control, significant progress was made. In 1972, President Nixon of USA visited Moscow and signed two agreements. These agreements included the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. The former Treaty limited the US and Soviet Union to two sites for ballistic missiles defence, one to protect their national capital area and the other to protect the field of ICBMs. The second agreement covered both the land based ICBMs and sub-marine launched ballistic missiles. Both these treaties went a long way in reducing the tension between the Super Powers. The relation further improved between the two Super Powers when in 1973 Brezhnev, the Chief of Communist Party of USSR, paid a return visit to Washington and Summit talks were held. In these talks the two parties agreed to work for lasting world peace and to end the nuclear arms race. This Summit talk resulted in the conclusion of four agreements between the two countries. These agreements related to cooperation in the field of research in agriculture, transportation, and expansion of cultural and scientific exchanges between the two countries. Through these agreements, they also committed to negotiate a treaty for mutual reduction of nuclear weapons and cooperation in nuclear power research. The leaders also asserted that lasting peace in Europe was the paramount goal of their policy and pledged to work for the success of the conference on European Security held in 1973.

The change in leadership in USA following President Nixon's resignations in the wake of the Watergate Scandal, did not mark any change in the policy. The new American President Ford continued efforts for reduction of nuclear weapons and concluded an agreement with Brezhnev for limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next 10 years. The two leaders attended the Summit Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki in July 1975, and participated in the joint Apollo-Soyuz space mission, which was an important indication of the cordial relations. However, despite the détente, there were many points of conflict between the two powers and they tried to check each other's influence. For example, America favoured military buildup in Iran with a view to maintain their influence in the Middle East and to check the growing influence of the Soviet Union. The establishment of Diego Garcia military base was aimed to counter checking the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean area. The Soviet Scheme of Asian Collective

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Security was also aimed at replacing the American influence in the South East Asia as well as to contain China. In Bangladesh, the two powers supported the opposite parties. While the Soviet Union supported the cause of people of East Bengal and rendered every possible help to India to deal with the refugee problem, the US on the other hand extended full support to Pakistan. In the war between Egypt and Israel in 1973, they supported the rival parties, the Soviet supported with Egypt, and the US backed Israel. As the duration of the Treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, concluded between USA and the USSR in 1972, drew closer, they commenced negotiations for a fresh agreement and concluded SALT-II in June 1975 under which both the super powers agreed to limit the expansion of the nuclear weapons. They also pledged to work for reduction of strategic arms in order to achieve the goal of complete disarmament. However, subsequently the US Senate refused to ratify the Treaty and it could not come into force.

CENTO (Central Treaty Organization)

The Baghdad Pact was a defensive organization for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. Similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the main purpose of the Baghdad Pact was to prevent communist incursions and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact.

In the early 1950s, the United States Government expressed an interest in the formation of a Middle East Command to protect the region against communist encroachment. The nature of some of the ongoing tensions in the region, like Arab-Israeli conflict and Egyptian-led anti-colonialism, made it difficult to forge an alliance that would include both Israel and Western colonial powers. Instead, the U.S shifted its focus to the “Northern Tier,” referring to the line of countries that formed a border between the U.S.S.R. and the Middle East. The idea was to conclude an alliance that would link the southernmost member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Turkey, with the westernmost member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Pakistan. Turkey and Pakistan signed an agreement in 1954 to increase security and stability in the region. In February 1955, Iraq and Turkey signed a “pact of mutual cooperation” in Baghdad to resist outside aggression, and they opened it to other countries in the region as well. In April, the United Kingdom announced its intention to adhere to the Pact, and it was followed by Pakistan and finally, Iran. The King of Jordan considered joining, but he could not overcome domestic opposition to the pact. The United States signed individual agreements with each of the nations in the Pact, but it did not formally join. Instead, the United States participated as an observer and took part in committee meetings.

Developments in the Middle East in the years that followed weakened the Pact. In 1956, Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser seized control of the Suez

Canal, an important international waterway. Israel responded by invading the Sinai peninsula, and British and French forces intervened. The outcome of the incident was a profound loss of British prestige in the region, which in turn damaged its position of leadership in the Baghdad Pact. A series of events in 1958, including an Egyptian-Syrian union, an Iraqi revolution, and civil unrest in Lebanon threatened regional stability. In response to these developments, the United States invoked the 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine as justification for intervening in Lebanon. The members of the Baghdad Pact except for Iraq endorsed the U.S. intervention, and in 1959, Iraq announced it was formally leaving the arrangement. As a result, the other signatories to the Baghdad Pact formed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO. Although the United States was still not a member of the organization, it did sign bilateral military aid treaties with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, ensuring that it would continue to be active in supporting the CENTO members.

CENTO never actually provided its members with a means for guaranteeing collective defense. After the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact, CENTO moved its headquarters to Ankara, Turkey, and the United States continued to support the organization as an associate, but not as a member. CENTO never created a permanent military command structure or armed forces, but the United States provided assistance to its allies in the region. By the close of the Eisenhower Administration, it had become clear to CENTO members that the organization was a better conduit for economic and technical cooperation than it was a military alliance. In 1979, the Iranian revolution led to the overthrow of the shah and Iran's withdrawal from CENTO. Pakistan also withdrew that year after determining the organization no longer had a role to play in bolstering its security. CENTO formally disbanded in 1979.

New Cold War or Second Cold War

The Cold War, which to some extent subsided during the early 1970s, got flared up once again following Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. The Western powers were so bitter about it that they decided to boycott Olympic Games held at Moscow in July 1980. In the subsequent years, the Super Powers adopted critical attitude towards their opponents. This new phase of Cold War was described as a 'new cold war' or 'second cold war'. It differed from the earlier cold war in many respects:

- (i) Unlike the earlier Cold War, this War was confined only to two powers.
- (ii) In the new cold war, the two Super Powers were involved in nuclear armament race, and as such was more threatening.
- (iii) The element of ideology, which was a dominant feature of the Cold War, was conspicuously absent this time.

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12.2.1 End of the Cold War

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With the disintegration of USSR in 1991, the Cold War came to an end resulting in the creation of a unipolar world which replaced the bipolar world dominated by America and the Soviet Union. The end of the Cold War brought a new world order where the USA emerged as the sole superpower. The replacement of the bipolar world by unipolarism has allowed the United States to dominate the world, as it was the only super power left on the scene after the end of the Cold War. In this unipolar world, America not only dominates the polity of the world, but it also exerts its dominance in almost all spheres whether it be economic, military, diplomatic, ideological, technological, and cultural. Scholars like SP Huntington have observed, “The United States, of course, is the sole state with preeminence in every domain of power—economic, military, diplomatic, ideological, technological, and cultural – with the reach and capabilities to promote its interests in virtually every part of the world.” This dominance by the United States today has resulted in some scholars calling the United States a ‘hyper-power’ which has little regard for International Law. They argue that the United States attitude towards the world can be shown by the remarks of the former Secretary of State Madeline Albright, who stated that the United States will act “multilaterally when we can and unilaterally as we must.” The recent wars in Iraq and Libya, the refusal of the United States to sign onto treaties relating to the environment despite being the world’s biggest polluter, the pressure it puts on nations that refuse toe its line, especially on economic affairs, the use of its military to intimidate other nations, etc., seem to confirm the hypothesis of the United States being a ‘hyper-power’. Another interesting fact relating to the United States’ dominance of the world is that the United States defense budget is almost equal to the defense budget of the rest of the world combined! However, other scholars have argued that the notion of a unipolar world and the concept of a superpower are outdated considering complex global economic interdependencies. They propose that the world is now multipolar. For them, the onset of the process of globalization and resulted in new centers of political and economic power being created. For them, the rise of China and India, the creation of the European Union, the resurgence of Latin America and the emergence East Asia as one of the main centers of economic activity have made the world multi-polar where no one nation can dominate the other.

In recent times, the United States has not only been stagnating economically but it is also fast conceding its edge in technology to other emerging markets of the world. The disastrous wars that the United States has fought in the 21st Century are beginning to take its toll on the U.S. economy. The total combined public debt of the United States as of September 2012 was \$16.02 trillion dollars, which is more than the United States’ GDP of \$15.02 trillion.

Moreover, the Global Financial crisis of 2008 made worse the already floundering economy of the United States. It is yet to fully recover from the crisis. All these events seem to confirm the thesis that the world is increasingly becoming multipolar; however, that is not to say that the world has already become multipolar.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the Marshall Plan of the USA?
2. Define McCarthyism.
3. Which assumption was responsible for the development of military theory of Cold War?
4. What were the driving forces behind capitalism?
5. Which countries signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington on 4 April 1949?
6. Which countries were the members of the Warsaw Pact?
7. What was Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty?

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12.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Through its Marshall Plan, the United States contributed millions of dollars towards the redevelopment efforts of several European nations.
2. The illogical and unsubstantiated accusations on people of being spies of the Soviet Union and China by the US came to be known as McCarthyism.
3. The assumption that the real threat to the world peace was posed by the military strength of the Soviet Union gave rise to suspicion and hostility and was responsible for the development of military theory of Cold War
4. Private enterprise in search of making profits and power preservation of private wealth were the driving forces behind capitalism.
5. The US, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Italy, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington on 4 April 1949.
6. The Warsaw Pact included all Communist states in Europe except Yugoslavia, Soviet Russia, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany.
7. Under Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the nuclear powers, the US, the Soviet Union and Britain agreed not to transfer their nuclear weapons or control over them to any non-nuclear power or to provide assistance in producing those weapons.

12.4 SUMMARY

- Through its Marshall Plan, the United States contributed millions of dollars towards the redevelopment efforts of several European nations. America

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- felt threatened by the increasing influence of communism and tried to contain it. When the Soviet Union blockaded Berlin, the United States provided food to Berliners through airlifts.
- The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established in 1949 by the United States, Canada and nine other Western European nations so that countries could provide military assistance to each other if they were attacked. Russia was not far behind.
 - In response to NATO, Russia signed the Warsaw Pact to create its own military alliance with Eastern European nations.
 - China was taken over by communist forces that were able to expel Chiang Kai-shek, the nationalist leader, from China. Thus, the People's Republic of China was established under the leadership of communist leader, Mao Zedong.
 - The United States developed the hydrogen bomb in 1952, and with Stalin's death, the Soviet Union could never really stand as strong as it had earlier. The Cold War came to an end with the dissolution of the USSR.
 - The Cold War was based on a number of underlying assumptions. First, it assumed that the real threat to the world peace was posed by the military strength of the Soviet Union. Second, it assumed the inevitability of conflict between the Socialist and Capitalist states, which prompted the states of both the blocs to keep themselves in a condition of constant preparedness for a final show down at any point of time.
 - The Soviet Union tried to increase its political influence in the Eastern Europe in violation of the terms of Yalta Agreement. Firstly, the Soviet Union established a Communist government in Poland in violation of its commitment that the exiled Polish government at London and the Soviet influenced Lublin government would be duly represented in the future government of Poland.
 - It was believed that USA due to its superiority in military could determine the history of the world and influence the internal affairs of Soviet Union. The policy of containing Soviet Union could not be implemented because the Allies of America were not yet fully armed.
 - During the first phase, America resorted to direct military intervention through the Truman Doctrine of March 1947 and followed the policy of intervention as a defender of status quo. This phase of Cold War ended with the conclusion of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. The US, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Italy, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington on 4 April 1949.
 - The regional security measure for the North Atlantic area defence was valid for 20 years. As a result of this Treaty, the Western European nations were drawn together under the American leadership. The headquarters of NATO

known as the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) was established at Paris.

- The second phase of a Cold War lasted from 1949 to 1953. During this period, USA continued its policy of military and economic assistance against the Soviet Union. Throughout this period USA concluded security treaties with Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS) and the Peace Treaty with Japan in 1951.
- The third phase of the Cold War lasted from 1953 to 1957. During this phase USA continued its Policy of Military and Economic Offensive. America during this period organised the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO). These two defence treaties became new defence links with NATO.
- The Warsaw Pact included all Communist states in Europe except Yugoslavia, Soviet Russia, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. ‘The Pact spoke of peaceful intentions and defence. It precluded its members to participate in any other coalition or alliance but it assured members of immediate assistance, including the use of armed force, in the event of armed aggression.
- With this Warsaw treaty, the Soviet foiled the American attempt to promote counter-revolution in Hungary. This period also witnessed the permanency of the Potsdam partition of Germany. The phase witnessed simultaneous explosion of hydrogen bombs by USA and the Soviet Union.
- After the death of Stalin in 1953, the new Russian leadership began to talk about peaceful co-existence, and the frozen atmosphere of the Cold War between the two blocs began to melt.
- The US and the Soviet Russia exchanged political and cultural delegates. The heads of two countries paid visit to each other. The Agreement of Paris Summit clearly demonstrated that the Cold War attitude had ended. However, this spirit was sabotaged by the U-2 incident.
- The fifth phase started from 1962 and was marked by a deep appreciation of futility of nuclear war strategy. The phase saw the conclusion of ‘Partial Test Ban Treaty’ of 1963. The ‘Geneva Hot Line Agreement’ of 1963 closely linked the two countries.
- Another important step in the direction of lessening the Cold War was the ‘Three Power Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty’ formally signed on 5 August 1963. This Treaty provided for a limited ban on all nuclear tests in the atmosphere including territorial waters and high seas.
- The agreements between North Korea and South Korea in July 1972, and East Germany and West Germany in November 1972 also contributed to the reduction of tension between the two Super Powers.

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- The Cold War, which to some extent subsided during the early 1970s, got flared up once again following Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. The Western powers were so bitter about it that they decided to boycott Olympic Games held at Moscow in July 1980. This new phase of Cold War was described as a ‘new cold war’ or ‘second cold war’.
- Unlike the earlier Cold War, the new Cold War was confined only to two powers which were involved in nuclear armament race and the element of ideology was conspicuously absent this time.
- The Baghdad Pact was a defensive organization for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. Similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the main purpose of the Baghdad Pact was to prevent communist incursions and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact.
- The members of the Baghdad Pact except for Iraq endorsed the U.S. intervention, and in 1959, Iraq announced it was formally leaving the arrangement. Although the United States was still not a member of the organization, it did sign bilateral military aid treaties with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, ensuring that it would continue to be active in supporting the CENTO members.
- With the disintegration of USSR in 1991, the Cold War came to an end resulting in the creation of a unipolar world which replaced the bipolar world dominated by America and the Soviet Union.
- In unipolar world, America not only dominates the polity of the world, but it also exerts its dominance in almost all spheres whether it be economic, military, diplomatic, ideological, technological, and cultural.

12.5 KEY WORDS

- **Socialist movement:** It was a left-wing grouping in the United Kingdom which grew out of the Socialist Conferences held in Chesterfield, Sheffield and Manchester in the years following the defeat of 1984–1985 miners’ strike.
- **Capitalist:** It refers to a wealthy person who uses money to invest in trade and industry for profit in accordance with the principles of capitalism.
- **Truman Doctrine:** It was an American foreign policy whose stated purpose was to contain Soviet geopolitical expansion during the Cold War

12.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What were the underlying assumptions on which the Cold War was based?
2. What was the cause of the Cold War on ideological basis?
3. How was the new Cold War different from the earlier Cold War?
4. What is the observation of the scholar SP Huntington about the unipolar world after the end of the Cold War?
5. What damaged UK's position of leadership in the Baghdad Pact?

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the cause of the Cold War on political basis.
2. Explain the happenings which took place during the first and second phases of the Cold War.
3. Why was CENTO disbanded? Explain.
4. Describe the end of the Cold War.

12.7 FURTHER READINGS

Adam, RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

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UNIT 13 AWAKENING OF ASIA

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Structure

- 13.0 Introduction
- 13.1 Objectives
- 13.2 The Awakening of Asia And Africa
- 13.3 The Commonwealth of Nations
- 13.4 India's Foreign Policy
- 13.5 Post War Disarmament Problem
- 13.6 The Sino Soviet Cold War
- 13.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 13.8 Summary
- 13.9 Key Words
- 13.10 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 13.11 Further Readings

13.0 INTRODUCTION

The movement in Russia in 1905 led to the weakening of European powers in Asia which ultimately led to the awakening of Asia. The British Commonwealth of Nations was the result of the 1926 Balfour Declaration which stipulated that the relationship between Britain and her Dominions was equal in status. In this unit, we will study about the concept of Commonwealth of Nations and will have a look at the India's foreign policy. The main and the foremost objective of India's Foreign Policy is to secure its national interests. The scope of "national interests" is fairly wide. In our case it includes, for instance – securing our borders to protect territorial integrity, countering cross-border terrorism, energy security, food security, cyber security, creation of world class infrastructure, non-discriminatory global trade practices, equitable global responsibility for the protection of environment, reform of institutions of global governance to reflect the contemporary realities, disarmament, regional stability, international peace and so on. In a world where disarmament is a long term dream, arms control, development control, stockpiling and deployment seek to limit the arms race and make efforts to make disarmament easy. This unit also deals with the persistent disarmament problem and the Sino-Soviet Cold War.

13.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the historical background of the Commonwealth of Nations
- Understand the stance and the major achievements of India's Foreign Policy

- Discuss the problem of disarmament
- Explain the reasons of Sino-Soviet splitting

13.2 THE AWAKENING OF ASIA AND AFRICA

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The 1905 movement held in Russia was seen to spread to whole of Asia. This awakening as seen in the sense that parties and unions were founded at a large scale. A large proportion of people were awakened up with the Russian Movement especially the ones which were the most marginalized and downtrodden section of the society to fight for dignity and human rights.

It was during the seventeenth century that the concept of Asia was first introduced to China by Jesuits. There is change in terms of relation when one talks about it between Europe and Asia. It is seen as very rapid in the last few years.

One result of this was found in terms of war which led to the weakening up of almost all the European powers which earlier had possessions in the Eastern continent. This led to the increase in power of Asia eventually leading to its awakening.

Furthermore even in today's time if we talk about and look at most of the European Nations we find they happen to be acting in a way that they are superior. Even when the English and the French were seen to be struggling in maintaining up their dominance in *Hindustan*, Warren Hastings and Clive on the one side, and Dupleix and Bussy on the other, never at any time assumed those airs of white superiority over rulers of ancient race and ancient culture which far less capable men have since considered quite natural to adopt.

Similarly, if we talk about Africa, it is found to remain as the last resting place of imperialism. The first Europeans who got fortune and wealth in Africa in the sixteenth century were the Portuguese. Africa witnessed a huge scale of poverty which affected the native people badly.

In 1833 slavery was abolished throughout the British territory. The world renowned Boer war was also held which resulted in the annexation of the British of these territories. The poverty was seen at a tremendous rate in Africa. Despite the occurrence of the greatest gold, diamond and uranium mines of the world, poverty is rooted in the very conditions of the continent. The health of the native people of Africa was found to be very bad and deteriorating. As such one may find that almost every African native was infested with some type of intestinal worms. The most serious type of diseases to be present in Africa was malaria and lack of nutrition in the people was a serious concern too.

Furthermore, there was presence of low scale of industrialization along with shortage of labour. One of the great needs of Africa is better means of communications. Lack of adequate road and rail road mileage are standing obstacles to the economic development of the country. But despite all of this one

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of the most remarking mark of the West African is their attitude towards trading. Africa is seen to have a relatively wealthy class as compared to other nations. The most successful out of which is the cocoa industry which is widely famous and renowned. This leads to investment worth \$ 700,000 in Ghana and further represents to near around 68% of its exports.

Decolonization of Asia and Africa

Decolonization occurred in two phases. The first lasted from 1945 to 1955 which largely had effect on the countries in the near and Middle East, and South-East Asia and the second phase took place in North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

During the period which existed from 1945 to 1960, there existed three dozen new states in both Asia and Africa, which achieved autonomy from their European rulers. Some areas witnessed independence peacefully whereas other areas saw revolution for their independence.

Few independent countries acquired stable governments quickly whereas others were ruled by dictators for a long period of time. This process of decolonization was found to coincide with the new Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. Further in the mid to the last 19th century period, the European powers colonized much of Africa and Southeast Asia. This led to the change in the pattern of the international relations. During the period of imperialism, the industrializing powers of Europe looked at the African and the Asian continents as the areas possessing various things and items such as raw materials, labour, and most importantly territory.

During the period of World War II, Japan held a good amount of imperial power in itself which made the European powers to leave Asia eventually. The Japanese surrendered in 1945 which made the local nationalist movements in the former Asian colonies to campaign and support for the independence. Such independent Movements gained support widely which appealed to the United States. The United States supported the concept of national self-determination and at the same time it had very strong and good terms with its European allies.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, the Cold War competition with the Soviet Union came to dominate U.S. foreign policy. The Truman and Eisenhower Administrations showed a lot of concern as the European powers lost their colonies or granted them independence and the Soviet happened to achieve power. Various events such Indonesian struggle for independence from the Netherlands (1945–50), the Vietnamese war against France (1945–54), and the nationalist and professed socialist takeovers of Egypt (1952) and Iran (1951) served to reinforce such type of fears.

The creation of the newly Independent Nations emerged in the 1950s and the 1960s which was seen to be an important factor to change the balance in the United Nations. In the year 1946, there were 35 member states in the United Nations, whereas by 1970 the members increased to 127. The new nations pushed

the United Nations to accepting various kinds of resolutions for independence for colonial states. Further, on 6 March 1957 Ghana became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to proclaim its Independence. In 1960, 15 new independent states emerged which are Guinea (1958), Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Gabon, Upper Volta, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Central African Republic, Senegal, Chad and Togo.

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Check Your Progress

1. What led to the increase in power of Asia eventually leading to its awakening?
2. When was the slavery abolished throughout the British territory?

13.3 THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

The Commonwealth of Nations is an organization made up of fifty-four states, all but two of which were formerly part of the British Empire. The Commonwealth of Nations has a secretariat to oversee its business, but has no formal constitution or international laws. The member states co-operate on the following common values and goals, which include the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, individual liberty, equalitarianism, free trade and world peace.

Most of the countries in the Commonwealth were once ruled by Britain, this is the reason behind English being the common language. In 1931, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa (which were once ruled by Britain, but are now independent) decided to join Britain to form a club called the “Commonwealth of Nations”. It was in 1947 that India and Pakistan became independent after a long struggle against Britain. After two years, India decided to stay in the Commonwealth as a Republic and agreed to accept the British King or queen as symbol. The Commonwealth was found to become a “free association of independent nations”. Hence, the modern multi-racial Commonwealth was born. In 1961 South Africa left Commonwealth because of its racist policies, commonly known as apartheid. It was in the year 1971 that Commonwealth leaders agreed upon to work for racial justice and supported the struggle of South Africans which was against the white minority rule. The Commonwealth strongly opposes racism. In 1994, South Africa returned as a multi-racial democracy under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. He famously said: “the Commonwealth makes the world safe for diversity”. This means that the Commonwealth is a good example of how different people from different countries can work together for common good of all, ignoring their differences.

It was Nelson Mandela who became the first black president of South Africa in 1994, and he served until 1999. He became a symbol of global peace making, and for this he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. In 1962 Mandela was again arrested, for leaving South Africa illegally and for inciting strikes. He

was sentenced to five years jail. During the twenty-seven years that Mandela had spent in prison, his example of suffering is just one of the many pressures on South Africa's apartheid government.

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Check Your Progress

3. What is the Commonwealth?
4. On what common values and goals do the member states of the Commonwealth co-operate?

13.4 INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The beginning of foreign relations in human affairs, and the need for foreign policy to deal with them, is as old as the organization of human life in groups. Yet, foreign policy, to the uninitiated, might appear somewhat esoteric. In simple terms, it is a country's policy which is designed, and formulated to safeguard, promote and protect her national interests in the conduct of relations with other countries, be it bilaterally and multilaterally both. It is in fact found to be a direct reflection of a country's values which are traditional and overall national policies.

Independent India's foreign policy had the primary purpose as to help and enable the domestic transformation of India from a very poor and backward society to a society which would eventually provide its people with basic needs and opportunities to achieve their potential and goals. Nehru outlined the role that foreign policy could play in achieving this, by trying to create an external environment that could accelerate foreign exchange, facilitate the improvement of India's infrastructure, ensure energy security, facilitate development and import of hydrocarbon resources, and import of natural resources in which India was lacking. Today, too, the main objective of India's principal foreign policy is to remain a place of peace and autonomy and self-reliance so as to concentrate on its tasks of integration and nation building. This necessitates good relations with major powers and economies, and the neighbours.

Several factors – historical, civilizational, and cultural – that are innate to our people's genius, as well as current relevant ones like economic, technological, and demographic, lie behind our foreign policy consensus in shaping it. The strands of our foreign policy such as peaceful co-existence, non-interference, peaceful resolution of disputes, non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, multilateralism, pluralism, general and complete disarmament, opposition to all forms of terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism, pro-development, wider global cooperation in general, and South-South cooperation in particular, and so on, are moored in India's civilizational beliefs in peace, tolerance, and One World. These have admirably stood the test of time. India, as an open, inclusive, and responsible member of the global community, believes that durable peace is possible only in a world in which all are equal stakeholders in prosperity, progress and happiness.

We also propounded Panchasheela, the five basic principles of peaceful co-existence for international relations.

Today, India has formal diplomatic relations with most nations, besides being the world's second most populous country, most-populous democracy, and ninth largest economy by nominal rates and fourth largest by purchasing power parity and one of the fastest growing. Furthermore, although India is not involved in any major military alliance, but the relation of it with the major powers such as with the European Union, have acquired strategic depth and self-sustaining mutual interest.

Over the years, development cooperation and partnership of India have evolved a lot, from technical cooperation, to an important part of our foreign policy. These programs, providing Indian resources, expertise, and cooperation to other developing countries in a bid to help them develop faster, also win friends and generate goodwill for the country. Our partner countries appreciate that India's contribution does not emanate from a state of affluence or surplus, is not driven by any ulterior motives and is not tied with conditionality's. The Ministry of External Affairs has a full-fledged Development Partnership system that coordinate and administer all such Indian cooperation, be it the lines of credit, and technical cooperation that falls under India Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) by way of training, experts, study tours, projects, consultancy, and disaster relief and humanitarian assistance, to some 160 countries all around the world, all in a spirit of partnership, interdependence, and mutual benefit.

A very well-known Indian foreign policy success was the landmark agreement that happened first with the US and over the years was done with several other major countries that enabled us to access and use nuclear power technology, materials and research, in waiver from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), thus effectively ending the sanctions regime we were operating under, and opening doors for receiving sensitive and dual-use technologies and materials for peaceful applications. This is particularly instructive, for when in 1974 we tested a peaceful nuclear explosive device, the world, led by the nuclear weapon states, reacted by forming a nuclear cartel, the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), and by cutting off nuclear cooperation with India unless we agreed to forego our nuclear programme and put all our nuclear facilities under international safeguards to guarantee that commitment. As the nuclear weapon states were not willing to do so themselves, and we could not afford to brook consequent strategic insecurity, we refused to comply, suffering the consequences for our growth and development. In contrast, in the wake of our 1998 Pokharan-II nuclear tests, the world opinion, after its initial knee-jerk reaction, eventually, within a short period of ten years, came about to the NSG and IAEA deciding in September 2008 to permit international civil nuclear cooperation with India, thus ending India's nuclear isolation.

Yet, India's commitment to nuclear disarmament has remained very firm. It has only refused to be subjected to arbitrary discrimination from the very 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty that continued over the years till the 1996

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Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Furthermore, the Arms limitation and disarmament through proper multilateral negotiation has been very important to India's world view. India continues to stress for a cooperative thrust to reduce the salience of nuclear weapons. India is found to be the only country to commit to no-first-use.

Check Your Progress

5. What was the primary purpose of the independent India's foreign policy?
6. Name the elements of India's foreign policy.

13.5 POST WAR DISARMAMENT PROBLEM

Disarmament may broadly be conceived as the voluntary or forced surrender of weapons, ammunition and military supplies/equipment possessed by belligerents in a given conflict, as well as their subsequent restriction from ex-combatants. Such weaponry in post-Cold War intrastate conflicts has overwhelmingly comprised 'small arms and light weapons' (SALW), e.g., machetes, RPG-launchers, land mines, grenades, mortars, rifles, machine guns, and pistols.

Disarmament, however, has repeatedly been difficult to accomplish in over sixty DDR programs since the end of the Cold War. Afghanistan's population, for instance, remains immersed in weapons despite the fact that 100,000 weapons had been collected by 2009 under the Afghan-Coalition DDR program. The reason why disarmament is seen to be so much challenging issue is its implementation in post-conflict situations which is due to the presence of internal insecurity. If we talk about the post-2001 Afghan case, we find that the civilians possessing weapons were seen by many Afghans as very important individuals for the purpose of communal defense against armed criminal and insurgent groups.

Further, the fact that SALW can be effortlessly concealed by non-combatants and combatants alike in remote/hidden sites (e.g., transport cargoes) also makes SALW very hard to trace and secure by government forces and international actors. Moreover, in many cases the disarmament of combatants is impeded by economic enticements to maintain the status quo. For instance, the Colombian conflict presented both the ELN and FARC with numerous opportunities to enrich their members through drugs trading, fraud and abductions; consequently, arms bequeathed these groups greater ability to protect their interests against rivals. Furthermore, disarmament has sometimes been hindered by armed groups who have exploited international buy-back schemes (whereby combatants surrender their weapons in exchange for cash). In Haiti, for instance, the US-led buy-back program enabled particular FRAPH and FADH to trade-in outdated/broken weapons and equipment; buy-back cash was then used by certain members to buy newer/better weapons, or for personal enrichment through the black market.

Additionally, the fact that leads to conflicts frequently spill-over into bordering countries can seriously impede a disarmament program, as the neighbouring countries may be unwilling or unable to cooperate according to the DDR initiative. In Tajikistan between the periods of 1992-1993, for instance, UTO fighters were able to use Northern Afghanistan as a sanctuary against government forces, as well as a means of income (i.e., through opium trading) and weapons procurement through dealings with Tajik-Afghan commanders like Ahmed Shah Massoud.

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Check Your Progress

7. What is disarmament?
8. What is SLAW?

13.6 THE SINO SOVIET COLD WAR

The splitting up of Sino-Soviet started in the late 1950s and it soon became a major diplomatic conflict between the People's Republic of China (PRC) which was led by Mao Zedong and the USSR whose leader at that time was Joseph Stalin.

During the 1950s China was seen to work with a large number of Soviet advisers who encouraged the Chinese leaders to follow the Russian model of development with having a lot of emphasis on heavy industry that was funded by taxes and levies from the peasants.

In 1953 when Stalin died, Mao felt he was now the senior leader but was resentful when the new Soviet leaders Malenkov and Khrushchev did not recognize this. He had ignored many of Stalin's requests but respected him as a world leader. In the year of 1956 Khrushchev denounced Stalin during his Secret Speech and although Mao didn't react publicly he was very enraged.

Khrushchev held a summit meeting with the US President Dwight Eisenhower in 1959. The Soviets were alarmed by the developments within China and sought to appease the West. But at the same time they also had refused to honour their earlier commitment to help China develop nuclear weapons and support Mao in his border dispute with India. This led Mao to be very much offended and he had the feeling that Khrushchev was being too adjusting with the Western demands. However, the Soviet leadership were well aware that the Americans could match their nuclear power and so sought to engage them in dialogue and negotiations which would avoid the outbreak of war and were determined not to give Mao nuclear weapons. By June 1960 the spilt between Russia and China was public when Khrushchev and Peng Zhen (China) had clashed publicly.

During 1962, there was a series of international events that caused the final split between the Soviet Union and China. Mao criticized Khrushchev for backing

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down in the Cuban Missile Crisis. Further, by 1965, the Sino-Soviet split was an established fact.

In July 1971 Henry Kissinger who was the Security adviser to Richard Nixon made a secret visit to Beijing in order to make the arrangements for a visit by President Nixon in the following year. The Soviets in order to retaliate this did the same by organizing their own summit meeting with Nixon. This further and eventually paved the way in creating a triangular relationship between Washington, Beijing and Moscow.

Check Your Progress

9. What did the Soviet advisers encourage the Chinese leaders to do?
10. What paved the way in creating a triangular relationship between Washington, Beijing and Moscow?

13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The 1905 movement held in Russia, led to the weakening up of almost all the European powers which earlier had possessions in the Eastern continent. This led to the increase in power of Asia eventually leading to its awakening.
2. The slavery was abolished throughout the British territory in 1833.
3. The Commonwealth of Nations is an organization made up of fifty-four states, all but two of which were formerly part of the British Empire.
4. The member states co-operate on the following common values and goals, which include the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, individual liberty, equalitarianism, free trade and world peace.
5. Independent India's foreign policy had the primary purpose as to help and enable the domestic transformation of India from a very poor and backward society to a society which would eventually provide its people with basic needs and opportunities to achieve their potential and goals.
6. The elements of India's foreign policy are: peaceful co-existence, non-interference, peaceful resolution of disputes, non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, multilateralism, pluralism, general and complete disarmament, opposition to all forms of terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism, pro-development, wider global cooperation in general, and South-South cooperation in particular.
7. Disarmament may broadly be conceived as the voluntary or forced surrender of weapons, ammunition and military supplies/equipment possessed by belligerents in a given conflict, as well as their subsequent restriction from ex-combatants.

8. SLAW is small arms and light weapons, for e.g., machetes, RPG-launchers, land mines, grenades, mortars, rifles, machine guns, and pistols.
9. During the 1950s China was seen to work with a large number of Soviet advisers who encouraged the Chinese leaders to follow the Russian model of development with having a lot of emphasis on heavy industry that was funded by taxes and levies from the peasants.
10. In July 1971 Henry Kissinger who was the Security adviser to Richard Nixon made a secret visit to Beijing in order to make the arrangements for a visit by President Nixon in the following year. The Soviets in order to retaliate this did the same by organizing their own summit meeting with Nixon. This further and eventually paved the way in creating a triangular relationship between Washington, Beijing and Moscow.

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13.8 SUMMARY

- The 1905 movement held in Russia was seen to spread to whole of Asia. This awakening as seen in the sense that parties and unions were founded at a large scale. A large proportion of people were awakened up with the Russian Movement especially the ones which were the most marginalized and downtrodden section of the society to fight for dignity and human rights.
- Africa is found to remain as the last resting place of imperialism. The first Europeans who got fortune and wealth in Africa in the sixteenth century were the Portuguese.
- In 1833 slavery was abolished throughout the British territory. The world renowned Boer war was also held which resulted in the annexation of the British of these territories. The poverty was seen at a tremendous rate in Africa. Despite the occurrence of the greatest gold, diamond and uranium mines of the world, poverty is rooted in the very conditions of the continent.
- Decolonization occurred in two phases. The first lasted from 1945 to 1955 which largely had effect on the countries in the near and Middle East, and South-East Asia and the second phase took place in North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.
- The creation of the newly Independent Nations emerged in the 1950s and the 1960s which was seen to be an important factor to change the balance in the United Nations. In the year 1946, there were 35 member states in the United Nations, whereas by 1970 the members increased to 127.
- The Commonwealth of Nations is an organization made up of fifty-four states, all but two of which were formerly part of the British Empire. The Commonwealth of Nations has a secretariat to oversee its business, but has no formal constitution or international laws.

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- In 1931, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa (which were once ruled by Britain, but are now independent) decided to join Britain to form a club called the “Commonwealth of Nations”. It was in 1947 that India and Pakistan became independent after a long struggle against Britain. After two years, India decided to stay in the Commonwealth as a Republic and agreed to accept the British King or queen as symbol.
- It was in the year 1971 that Commonwealth leaders agreed upon to work for racial justice and supported the struggle of South Africans which was against the white minority rule. The Commonwealth strongly opposes racism. In 1994, South Africa returned as a multi-racial democracy under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.
- Independent India’s foreign policy had the primary purpose as to help and enable the domestic transformation of India from a very poor and backward society to a society which would eventually provide its people with basic needs and opportunities to achieve their potential and goals.
- Today, India has formal diplomatic relations with most nations, besides being the world’s second most populous country, most-populous democracy, and ninth largest economy by nominal rates and fourth largest by purchasing power parity and one of the fastest growing.
- India is not involved in any major military alliance, but the relation of it with the major powers such as with the European Union, have acquired strategic depth and self-sustaining mutual interest.
- The Ministry of External Affairs has a full-fledged Development Partnership system that coordinate and administer all such Indian cooperation, be it the lines of credit, and technical cooperation that falls under India Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) by way of training, experts, study tours, projects, consultancy, and disaster relief and humanitarian assistance, to some 160 countries all around the world, all in a spirit of partnership, interdependence, and mutual benefit.
- Disarmament may broadly be conceived as the voluntary or forced surrender of weapons, ammunition and military supplies/equipment possessed by belligerents in a given conflict, as well as their subsequent restriction from ex-combatants. Such weaponry in post-Cold War intrastate conflicts has overwhelmingly comprised ‘small arms and light weapons’ (SALW), e.g., machetes, RPG-launchers, land mines, grenades, mortars, rifles, machine guns, and pistols.
- The splitting up of Sino-Soviet started in the late 1950s and it soon became a major diplomatic conflict between the People’s Republic of China (PRC) which was led by Mao Zedong and the USSR whose leader at that time was Joseph Stalin.

- During 1962, there was a series of international events that caused the final split between the Soviet Union and China. Mao criticized Khrushchev for backing down in the Cuban Missile Crisis. Further, by 1965, the Sino-Soviet split was an established fact.

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13.9 KEY WORDS

- **Agreement:** It is a legally binding arrangement between parties.
- **Cooperation:** It is the action or process of working together.
- **Conflict:** It refers to a clash of opinion.
- **Crisis:** It refers to the time of intense difficulty.
- **Disarmament:** It is the reduction of arms and weapons via international agreements and various treaties which are signed between two or more states.
- **Nation:** It is a large body of people united by common descent, history, culture, and so on.
- **Policy:** It is a principle of action adopted by either an individual or an organization.

13.10 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Why has disarmament repeatedly been difficult to accomplish in over sixty DDR programs since the end of the Cold War?
2. Discuss the events which led to Sino-Soviet split.

Long Answer Questions

1. Elaborate on the history of the Commonwealth of Nations.
2. What is the stance of India's foreign policy? Explain along with its achievements.

13.11 FURTHER READINGS

Adam. RG. *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United Nations*.
South Gate, George W. *A Textbook of Modern European History*.
Mahajan, VD. *International Relations*.

UNIT 14 PROBLEMS

NOTES

Structure

- 14.0 Introduction
- 14.1 Objectives
- 14.2 The Problem of World Peace
- 14.3 Role of Oil In Middle East World Politics
- 14.4 Globalization
- 14.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 14.6 Summary
- 14.7 Key Words
- 14.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 14.9 Further Readings

14.0 INTRODUCTION

Human population all over the world has been facing numerous issues which are threatening in nature to a region's integrity and peace. The conflicts of interest have resulted in war and history is testimony to such bloodsheds. The period of World Wars may have passed but their repercussions are still prevalent in some form or another in our society. There are other types of social conditions which though are not perceived as war, countries or societies experiencing them cannot said to be peaceful. For instance countries experiencing high level of poverty, exclusion, intimidations, oppression, want, fear and other psychological pressures cannot be classified as peaceful. In this unit, we will study about the meaning of World Peace, and whether it is an impossible dream or not. Besides, the unit also deals with the role of oil as a resource in Middle Eastern World Politics. Further through the end of the unit, we will have a thorough understanding and knowledge of the meaning and dynamics of globalization.

14.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of world peace
- Explain the role of oil as a resource in Middle Eastern world politics
- Discuss the meaning and dynamics of globalization

14.2 THE PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE

World peace is the total absence of conflict among nations, which may well be impossible. There are more than six billion people in the world and currently

research estimates that the number is likely to increase to about eight-ten billion in this century, with the largest increase occurring in the poorest of the poor countries. In a very short period of time one would find that there will be a huge and rising demand for land, water, natural resources, jobs opportunity and political and economic power. Furthermore, as the gap between the rich and the poor nations widens and the technology advances, it is quite unrealistic if one would imagine the total absence of conflict.

But if by world peace we mean the lack of a major war and the containment of conflicts that may be regional, then it may be entirely feasible. Throughout history at any point of time, a negative forecast was found to be justified.

The direction of human history is found to be much tilted toward more knowledge, more freedom and more prosperity. For example, American history which is one of the greatest literary and political accomplishments in history. Great are those men who wrote it, they were the products of their time, constrained by the society in which they learned and lived.

As per the American Constitution, the right to vote was limited to the adult white men who owned property and black persons were not even considered to be the citizens. It took 75 long years, filled up with the blood of people in the history which eventually led to extending the right to vote to all adult males. Further another 60 years were taken up with lots of sacrifice and struggle to extend it to the women. To this day the struggle goes on to expand the definition of citizenship so that every American citizen enjoys human and civil rights.

14.3 ROLE OF OIL IN MIDDLE EAST WORLD POLITICS

The early 20th century became a crucial point for the development of the Middle East region. Prior to 1950, the countries of the Middle East exhibited some of the lowest levels of socio economic as well as political development in the world. However, with the discovery of the vast oil reserves, and their further utilization and active exportation, the Middle East region has experienced considerable changes in economic, political as well as social spheres. The region's large oil reserves, accounting for 66 per cent of the world's supply, have resulted in the rapid creation of wealth for some states, mostly oil-rich, as well as having altered the political and economic processes not only in the oil-exporting countries but also in the region as a whole. There is a common perception that the vast oil reserves have, on one hand, led to economic modernization and prosperity, whereas, on the other hand, created weak states that are autonomous from societal demands, political accountability and transparency.

In actuality, oil is strategically important but a scarce resource. The shortage of oil in the world market can lead to disastrous effects and consistent changes in

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the world politics and economy, to the extent that the shortage of oil is likely to put a considerable part of the world's population to the edge next to starving.

In such a context, the role of the Middle East can hardly be underestimated because the region has become the major supply of the oil in the world market that made other countries depend on the supply of oil from the Middle East. Thereby as a result one finds that the Middle East has become a subject of conflict among the leading nations, especially with the US which is the most advanced and the leading world power today, that tends to take control over the Middle East because the control over the Middle East provides ample opportunities for the control over the supply of oil to the world market.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the fact that Klare had warned against the emergence of the new world order which will be characterized by the international competition for dwindling stocks of oil, natural gas, coal, and uranium, as well as by a tidal shift in power and wealth from energy-deficit states like China, Japan, and the United States to energy-surplus states like Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. In this due process, everyone's lives will be affected in one way or another – with poor and middle-class consumers in the energy-deficit states experiencing the harshest effects. At this point, it is important to place emphasis on the fact that the US is dependent on the supply of the oil from the Middle East too. Therefore, the US attempts to establish political and economic control over the Middle East. In such a scenario, the Middle East tend to face a huge amount of pressure from the US and other countries, that attempt to establish their control over the region for the oil's sake.

Further, it is important to place emphasis on the fact that the US is not the only power that is likely to struggle for the control over the Middle East. There are many new powers which are emerging such as China, which are likely to interfere in the struggle for the Middle East to establish its control over the region and, henceforth over the oil supply.

14.4 GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is the process by which ideas, goods and services spread throughout the world. In business, the term is often used in an economic context to describe an integrated economy marked by free trade, the free flow of capital and corporate use of foreign labour markets to maximize returns and benefit the common good.

How Globalization works

Globalization is driven by the connection of political, cultural and economic systems which eventually would promote and more or less even necessitate an increased interaction, integration and dependency amongst various nations.

“The more disparate regions of the world become intertwined politically, culturally and economically, the more globalized the world becomes.”

Such international interactions and dependencies are enabled upon by technological advancements, especially in the field of transportation and telecommunications. In general, money, technology, materials and even people flow more swiftly across national boundaries today than they ever have in the past. The flow of knowledge, ideas and cultures is expedited through Internet communications.

Types of Globalization

There are three types of globalization: economic, political, and cultural, which are explained below.

1. Economic globalization – This type focuses on the unification as well as on the integration of international financial markets and multinational corporations which have a significant influence on international markets.
2. Political globalization – Political globalization mainly deals with the policies that are designed to facilitate international trade and commerce. It even deals with the institutions which implement such policies that can further include national governments as well as international institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization.
3. Cultural globalization – This type focuses on the social factors which lead cultures to converge such as increased ease of communication and transportation, which is done up by the advancement in technology.

It is important to note that all the types of globalization influence each other. For instance, economic globalization is made possible by few liberal trade policies which fall under the category of political globalization. Similarly, cultural globalization is also at large affected by various policies which are passed in political globalization and is affected by economic globalization through the exposure which a culture has with other cultures.

This unifying thread present among these three types of globalization is nothing else but the advancement of technology. As mentioned previously, technology plays a role in expediting each type.

Effects of Globalization

The effects of the various types of globalization can be felt at both local level as well as global level, and can be observed in interactions at every level of society, from an individual at the micro level to a society at the macro level.

- The individual level includes the way international influence tends to have a tremendous effect on the lives of ordinary people within a nation or a region.
- The community level includes effects on local or regional organizations, businesses and economies.
- The institutional level includes effects on multinational corporations, national governments and higher education institutions that have international students. At this level, decisions are made that affect the lower levels.

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While the effects of globalization can be clearly observed, analyzing the net impact of globalization is a complex proposition, as specific results of globalization are often seen as positive by proponents and negative by critics. Many times, a relationship that benefits one entity may end up damaging another, and whether globalization benefits the world at large remains a point of contention.

Examples of Globalization

One of the most important example of globalization is the existence of multinational corporations. In simple terms the term multinational corporation means a business which conducts operations in more than one country. McDonalds, for instance, is a multinational fast-food corporation with 37,855 restaurants spread over 120 countries and territories as of 2018. With having 1.7 million employees, it is found to be the second-largest private employer in the world over.

Other examples of multinational corporations include the following:

- Ford Motor Company, an organization that works with about 1,200 suppliers it identifies as tier 1 around the globe.
- Amazon, which is an organization that uses tens of thousands of suppliers and employs around the world.

Through their enormous presence and influence on social and economic development in the countries that host them, multinational corporations like McDonalds, Amazon and Ford are seen as symbolic. On the one hand, the multinational corporations can bring jobs, skills and wealth to the region they are in by investing in the local people and resources.

On the other hand, multinational corporations can destroy local businesses, exploit cheap labour in developing countries and threaten cultural diversity. While they do offer benefits to the regions they operate in, they are often unsustainable because the loyalty of the corporation ultimately lies to its bottom line and not the culture it has integrated itself into.

Advantages of Globalization

Those who support globalization argue that it is globalization that has led to solving up of various fundamental problems, such as poverty and unemployment. It is mainly done through the means of promoting a free market which benefits the rich and poor nations in a same manner.

Further, they argue that it is free trade which aims to reduce the amount of trade barriers among nations. This consequently promotes economic growth, creates jobs, makes companies more competitive and lowers prices for consumers.

It also further gives poorer countries an opportunity for economic development by having a good amount of exposure to foreign capital and technology, further leading to conditions which develops an improved and better standard of living for the people of that nation.

Disadvantages of Globalization

While many supporters of globalization view globalization as an approach to solve the basic economic problems, critics see it as the one that has worsened the global inequality.

For instance, while some proponents say globalization creates new markets and wealth – and promotes greater cultural and social integration by eliminating barriers – critics blame the elimination of barriers for undermining national policies and cultures and destabilizing advanced labour markets in favour of lower-cost wages elsewhere.

Some critics say such moves could lower living standards in developed countries by eliminating jobs. Advocates of cultural globalization point to improved acknowledgement of human rights on a global scale and shared understanding of our impact on the environment, while critics decry the decimation of unique cultural identity and language, especially in the age of social media.

Future of Globalization

Technology advances, particularly block chain mobile communication and banking are fuelling economic globalization.

Nonetheless, the rapid pace of globalization in the early 21st century could be slowed or even reversed by potentially rising levels of protectionism and anti-globalization sentiment happening in several countries.

Check Your Progress

1. What is globalization?
2. What unifying thread is present among the three types of globalization?
3. Why is the role of Middle East significant in the world?
4. How does globalization work?
5. What are fuelling economic globalization?

14.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Globalization is the process by which ideas, goods and services spread throughout the world. In business, the term is often used in an economic context to describe an integrated economy marked by free trade, the free flow of capital and corporate use of foreign labour markets to maximize returns and benefit the common good.
2. The advancement of technology is the unifying thread that is present among the three types of globalization.

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3. The role of the Middle East can hardly be underestimated because the region has become the major supply of the oil in the world market that made other countries depend on the supply of oil from the Middle East.
4. Globalization is driven by the connection of political, cultural and economic systems which eventually would promote and more or less even necessitate an increased interaction, integration and dependency amongst various nations.
5. Technology advances, particularly block chain mobile communication and banking are fuelling economic globalization.

14.6 SUMMARY

- With the discovery of the vast oil reserves, and their further utilization and active exportation, the Middle East region has experienced considerable changes in economic, political as well as social spheres. The region's large oil reserves, accounting for 66 per cent of the world's supply, have resulted in the rapid creation of wealth for some states, mostly oil-rich, as well as having altered the political and economic processes not only in the oil-exporting countries but also in the region as a whole.
- The role of the Middle East can hardly be underestimated because the region has become the major supply of the oil in the world market that made other countries depend on the supply of oil from the Middle East. Thereby as a result one finds that the Middle East has become a subject of conflict among the leading nations.
- It is worth mentioning the fact that Klare had warned against the emergence of the new world order which will be characterized by the international competition for dwindling stocks of oil, natural gas, coal, and uranium, as well as by a tidal shift in power and wealth from energy-deficit states like China, Japan, and the United States to energy-surplus states like Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela.
- Globalization is the process by which ideas, goods and services spread throughout the world. In business, the term is often used in an economic context to describe an integrated economy marked by free trade, the free flow of capital and corporate use of foreign labour markets to maximize returns and benefit the common good.
- There are three types of globalization: economic, political, and cultural. It is important to note that all the types of globalization influence each other.
- Those who support globalization argue that it is globalization that has led to solving up of various fundamental problems, such as poverty and unemployment. It is mainly done through the means of promoting a free market which benefits the rich and poor nations in a same manner.

- Technology advances, particularly block chain mobile communication and banking are fuelling economic globalization.

Problems

14.7 KEY WORDS

- **Campaign:** It is an organized course of action to achieve a goal.
- **Conflict:** It is a serious disagreement or argument.
- **Development:** It is the process of developing or being developed.
- **Globalization:** It is the process through which ideas, goods and services spread throughout the world.
- **Peace:** It refers to the freedom from disturbances.
- **Technology:** It is an application of scientific knowledge for practical purposes.

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14.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How do all the types of globalization influence each other?
2. How will the emergence of the new world order be characterized?
3. Write a brief note on the future of globalization.
4. What are the effects of globalization?

Long Answer Questions

1. Elaborate on the problem of world peace.
2. How have the oil resources changed the economic and political scenario in Middle East? Explain.
3. Describe the types of globalization.
4. Distinguish between the advantages and disadvantages of globalization.

14.9 FURTHER READINGS

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